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# INVESTIGATING CURRENT LANGUAGE POLICY IN ALICANTE: A CASE STUDY

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Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements  
of the University of Liverpool for the degree of Doctor  
in Philosophy by Elizabeth Anne Burgess



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## Abstract

This thesis provides an assessment of language policy (Spolsky, 2004) in Alicante, one of three provinces in the Valencian Community in the south east of Spain. The Valencian Community was founded in 1982 during Spain's transition to democracy. Its Statute of Autonomy (Corts Valencianes, 1982), which was created in the same year, declares Castilian (the language of the state) and Valencian (a geographic variety of Catalan) as co-official in the autonomous community. Prior to this, Franco's regime (1939-1975) had prohibited the public use of regional varieties such as Valencian. Yet, whilst the two languages now share equal official status, there is disparity between official language statements and *de facto* language policy (Shohamy, 2006).

This project contributes to the growing research areas of language policy and language revitalisation. The findings of this study are positioned in the context of Catalan-speaking territories, Spain, and the wider European setting. This thesis provides a localised view of language policy in Alicante and uncovers the complexity of the current sociolinguistic setting. In order to present such a nuanced view of local language policy, this project draws upon qualitative and quantitative data collected during the administration of fieldwork questionnaires in 2014 in the towns of Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa. Both towns are in the province of Alicante; Sant Vicent del Raspeig is in the *comarca* (county) of L'Alacantí whilst La Vila Joiosa is in La Marina Baixa. Drawing upon Spolsky's tripartite theoretical model, the questionnaires sought to uncover data about language practices, language management and language beliefs. In keeping with Spolsky's (2004) broad view of language policy, the data was collected and then analysed in relation to previous large-scale sociolinguistic data (Generalitat Valenciana, 2005; 2010; 2015), and a range of relevant theoretical frameworks. These frameworks, for example diglossia (Ferguson, 1959) and dilalia (Berruto, 1989a; 1989b), are considered and adapted according to the specific circumstances of the research context. This thesis examines a number of themes that emerged from the data, including the evolution of the composition of linguistic repertoires and the perception and construction of Valencian identities. This project also discusses the closure of the Valencian public

broadcaster *Ràdio Televisió Valenciana* (RTVV) and examines how external factors, in addition to internal components, contribute to language policy.

Data revealed that there is not one clearly identifiable language policy in Alicante; rather multiple layers of language practices, language management and language beliefs operate and intersect at various levels to contribute to a complex local language policy. This complexity is due in part to the social, linguistic, cultural and historical change experienced since the transition to democracy. Of particular significance is the increased access to Valencian which has resulted from the introduction of language legislation and the inclusion of Valencian in the education system (Blas Arroyo, 2002). As such, more language users are able to acquire standard Valencian, and its surrounding ideologies (Milroy, 2001; 2007), and also literacy. Consequently, language policy continues to evolve to reflect such changes as more language users are exposed to Valencian. However, data suggest that previous conditions and consolidated ideologies inherited from the past also continue to be influential and contribute to current language policy. This range of language practices, management and beliefs informs a complex and dynamic language policy.

This project presents the case of language policy in Alicante and contributes to current research in Hispanic Studies and Sociolinguistics. The findings of this study further our understanding of language policy and its development in response to changing sociolinguistic conditions, such as increased access to minority languages in the present European context as a result of language revitalisation efforts. The findings presented here should encourage further research and debate, not only in the context of Spain, but also in other European contexts where a minority language has undergone language revitalisation, which has resulted in a change to traditional sociolinguistic order.

## Acknowledgements

This research project emerged from my experiences during a semester spent as an Erasmus student at the University of Alicante in 2010 during my year abroad. I became fascinated by the relationship between Castilian and Valencian and how my Valencian friends negotiated between the two languages. Observing how Valencian in the Valencian Community receives far less attention than neighbouring Catalan in Catalonia, I decided to pursue this interest further and the result is this study of language policy in Alicante. I am grateful for the experience of living and studying in Alicante and how this has shaped my life since.

This project has been made possible by funding by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC). Therefore, I wish to acknowledge the AHRC's contribution to this project and I extend my thanks to the various individuals at the University of Liverpool who encouraged me to follow my interests and helped with the application process.

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A fundamental part of this project was the collection of fieldwork data in the towns of Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa. I am indebted to the fieldwork respondents who took the time to complete the questionnaire and share their thoughts on language policy in Alicante. Their participation and comments have

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## Chapter 1 – An Introduction to Language Policy in Alicante

This introductory chapter outlines the main focus of this thesis, which is to investigate language policy in Alicante, and it introduces the reader to the context in which this research has been conducted. Here, the structure of the thesis is set out and the research questions that have guided this investigation are explained. This chapter also serves to define and justify key terms that are employed throughout the thesis, such as theoretical concepts, and the decision to use English, Castilian, or Valencian terminology where appropriate. It also introduces the reader to various practical aspects of this project, such as the fieldwork carried out in 2014.

As is discussed in greater detail in chapter two, language policy emerged as an area of scholarly study in the period of rebuilding following the Second World War (see Ricento, 2000; 2006), and today, it is recognised as a branch of sociolinguistic research (Spolsky, 2012). Within the context of Spain, academic interest in language policy developed in the country's transition from dictatorship to democracy (Strubell & Boix-Fuster, 2011: 1). As will be discussed shortly, academic literature has focused in particular on the maintenance and revitalisation of Spain's regional languages: Basque, Catalan and Galician. In terms of Spain's Catalan-speaking regions, most attention has focused on Catalan in Catalonia (Montoya Abat, 1996: 29). In comparison, far fewer studies have considered the language in the neighbouring Valencian Community.

To address this gap, this project contributes to the growing body of research into Spain's regional languages by providing an assessment of language policy and the relationship between Castilian and Valencian in the province of Alicante. Throughout this thesis, 'Alicante' is used to describe the province. Specific references to the city of Alicante are clearly highlighted to the reader. Equally, it should be noted that the Castilian term 'Alicante', rather than the Valencian 'Alacant' is employed since it is more familiar to audiences in English. As is discussed in chapter three, the naming of a language or a place raises important questions in terms of identity and belonging. This thesis adopts the term 'Castilian' to describe the official language of the state, also known as Spanish. This is in keeping with the terminology employed in article three of the Spanish constitution (1978) which describes Castilian as one of

the Spanish languages present in the country (see Mar-Molinero, 2000b: 35-37). Chapter three considers further the connotations of such terminology and the differences between language, variety and dialect. Throughout the thesis, 'Valencian' is employed to refer to the regional language of the Valencian Community, which as is discussed further in chapter three, is a geographic variety of Catalan. This usage reflects the position held by the *Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua* (AVL), which was founded in 1998 as the official standardisation body for the Valencian language. In 2005, the AVL declared that the language spoken in the Valencian Community is the same as that spoken in other Catalan-speaking regions, but that locally it is known as Valencian (see AVL, 2005). In this way, the linguistic unity of Catalan and Valencian is acknowledged and the use of territorially-bound designations is also recognised. However, it is important to note that this view is not necessarily shared by language users. As such, at times there is an inconsistency between institutional and vernacular views of language and this is discussed further within the thesis. Equally, positioning Valencian as a 'variety' (of Catalan), rather than as a language in its own right may have affected the language revitalisation process from both an internal (language users) and external (top-down language management) perspective.

As is considered in greater detail in chapter two, Spolsky's tripartite framework of language policy (2004) is the main lens through which the local sociolinguistic setting is examined. This theoretical model enables a detailed and coherent assessment of language policy and additional theories are also drawn upon in order to understand and appreciate the data fully. Rather than considering Alicante as a speech community (Gumperz, 1968), this project considers Alicante as comprising multiple and overlapping communities of practice (Eckert, 2000; 2006). Although the term 'speech community' is commonly used in sociolinguistic research, the concept presents difficulties due to its many interpretations and definitions, which range from the broad to the very specific (see Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015: 62). The concept has been continuously examined and redefined and Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015) offer an overview of the development of debate. For example, a speech community can be interpreted as representing a large group of people in a broad geographic area, or it may refer to a small group in a specific location. Labov (1966)

classified the population of New York as a speech community because they share the pronunciation of certain sounds and generally agree on the social prestige attached to various other linguistic aspects. Similarly, as noted by Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015) in their summary of the literature, a speech community may, or may not be, guided by linguistic variables only. In this way, the speech community may, or may not, recognise multilingualism. Thus, the term is rather abstract and can be adapted according to the particular context, which presents various advantages and limitations. In light of the difficulties associated with 'speech community', this project adopts the term 'community of practice', rather than 'speech community'. This perspective recognises the close link between language and identity, which is explored further in chapter five, and also acknowledges that the province of Alicante is not linguistically uniform, nor is it an isolated unit. Instead, as will become clear, language practices, language beliefs and language management operate and intersect at many different levels.

Equally, there are multiple speaker profiles present in Alicante, due in part to the social and political change experienced since the transition to democracy. As such, the relationship between Castilian and Valencian is complex. Language proficiency in Valencian is varied due to speakers having diverse linguistic trajectories and this matter is considered in chapter five. Monolingual Valencian speakers are no longer present due to mass acquisition of Castilian during the Franco era when it was promoted as the sole official language and regional varieties were delegitimised (Casesnoves Ferrer & Sankoff, 2004: 4). Therefore, today those who speak Valencian also have access to Castilian and they are bilingual speakers. However, as is discussed in greater detail in chapter five, their bilingualism is often unbalanced with individuals displaying dominance in some areas and not others (see Pavlenko, 2006; Romaine, 1995). There are also speakers who perceive themselves as monolingual Castilian speakers because they were not exposed to Valencian at home or school due to their upbringing, perhaps during the dictatorship or beyond the Valencian Community. Yet, this perception is somewhat artificial since those who have spent many years in the Valencian Community develop passive competence in the language

due to the similarities between Castilian and Valencian resulting from their shared roots, which are discussed in chapter three.

The project is particularly timely as it started in 2012, and therefore, coincided with the thirty year anniversary of the founding of the Valencian Community. The period following Franco's death in 1975 and the re-establishment of democracy is known as the transition. This era, which saw the dismantling of the dictatorship and the establishment of democracy, was characterised as a period of consensus and compromise. As is discussed further in chapter three, this period saw the creation of the Spanish Constitution (1978) and the establishment of the autonomous communities, some of which outlined linguistic legislation for their regional languages. For detailed accounts of the political, social and cultural change experienced by Spain in this period, see Juliá (1999); Ross (2004); Vincent (2007). This period has been the subject of continued analysis and it should be noted that the timings of the transition, in terms of its start and end date, are contested. Vilarós (1998), a respected scholar in this field, locates the transition as having taken place between 1973 and 1993. She considers that a first stage took place between 1973 and 1982 and a second phase occurred between 1982 and 1993. However, there is variation in these dates amongst scholars, and as will become apparent in later chapters, data suggest that in sociolinguistic terms at least, this period of transition continues.

As Spolsky (2004) notes, the introduction of official language legislation does not necessarily result in its successful implementation. Instead, as is discussed in chapter five, data suggest that previous conditions remain influential in the formation of current language policy. Thirty years on from a period of significant social, political and linguistic change, language policy continues to evolve. A further timely event was the election in June 2015 in the Valencian Community of a socialist coalition government formed by the *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (PSOE) and *Compromís*. This followed twenty years of leadership by the conservative *Partido Popular* (PP), who were first elected in 1995 and have been criticised for a lack of involvement in language matters (see Strubell & Boix-Fuster, 2011). As is discussed in later chapters with relation to the reaction following the closure of the Valencian

public broadcaster *Ràdio Televisió Valenciana* (RTVV) by the PP in November 2013, such political changes are already having consequences for local language policy.

Alicante is one of three provinces in the Valencian Community, which was founded as one of Spain's seventeen autonomous communities in 1982. Alicante is the most southerly of the three provinces and is considered to be the most *castilianised* (Blas Arroyo, 2002: 319) as the statistics in Figure 1 suggest. Throughout this thesis the term 'Valencian Community' is used to refer to the autonomous community, rather than its Castilian and Valencian equivalents since it is a recognised and accepted translation. Chapter three considers further the name of the autonomous region and the connotations attached to its various names.

Figure 1: Knowledge of Valencian in the Valencian Community in 2011 (Adapted from Generalitat Valenciana, 2015)

	<b>Understand %</b>	<b>Speak %</b>	<b>Read %</b>	<b>Write %</b>
<b>Valencian Community</b>	84.78	51.18	58.35	31.77
<b>Castellón (Province)</b>	92.2	63.67	66.57	38.39
<b>Valencia (Province)</b>	91.36	57.93	65.68	35.98
<b>Alicante (Province)</b>	73.32	37.85	45.61	23.82

As is explained in greater detail in chapter three, since the creation of the Valencian Community, Valencian and Castilian have held co-official status in the region. Yet, as will become apparent in the course of this thesis, despite this shared official status, data suggest disparity between the languages in terms of their position in the linguistic repertoire. Therefore, this project seeks to understand the complexity of language policy in Alicante and considers how Spolsky's three components of language practices, language beliefs and language management intersect and operate to influence the local language setting.

In order to provide a local assessment of language policy in Alicante, fieldwork was conducted over a four month period in 2014. As is explained in chapter four, a

questionnaire designed to uncover details about local language practices, beliefs and management was administered to fieldwork respondents in the towns of Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa. Sant Vicent del Raspeig is in the *comarca* (county) of L'Alacantí and La Vila Joiosa is in the *comarca* of La Marina Baixa. Since the selected research sites are designated as towns of Valencian predominance (Corts Valencianes, 1983), they are referred to by their Valencian toponyms throughout the thesis. Similarly, other towns that may be mentioned by respondents are listed in either Castilian or Valencian according to their designation. This questionnaire provided valuable qualitative and quantitative data which are analysed in chapter five. The chosen methodology also encouraged respondents to engage with the project and consider their own relationship with language (Davis, 2014). The fieldwork received the necessary ethical approval from the University of Liverpool, and throughout the thesis, respondents are coded with a letter and number to preserve their anonymity. Background information about each respondent, such as their age, gender, occupation, is listed in Appendix 5. Additionally, I enrolled on a Valencian course at the University of Alicante and attended a conversation group run by the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* in Alicante in order to have the required level of Valencian to undertake the task.

Concentrating on two towns in the province of Alicante, rather than considering the Valencian Community as a whole, provides a local perspective of language policy and enables the factors that operate at a local level to influence the sociolinguistic setting to be considered. This approach contrasts with the rather generalised view offered by previous sociolinguistic surveys, which are discussed in more detail in chapter three. Yet, it should be noted that whilst this thesis concentrates on language policy at a local level in Alicante, the research findings are positioned in the wider context of Spain, the Catalan speaking territories, and also Europe so that they can be interpreted and appreciated fully.

As has already been mentioned and is discussed in more depth in chapter two, language policy as a field of academic research emerged in the 1950s and has advanced considerably in the intervening years (see Ricento, 2000; 2006). Scholarly interest in language policy in the context of Spain developed following the country's



transition to democracy. In particular, academic literature has focussed on the maintenance of Spain's regional languages. Notably, Fishman (1991) examined the case of Basque in his work on the reversal of language shift (RLS) and later revisited the context in his follow-up volume (2001), where Catalan was cited as an example of successful RLS.

In terms of Spain's Catalan-speaking regions, Catalan in Catalonia has perhaps received the most international academic attention, as acknowledged by Montoya Abat (1996: 29). However, recent studies such as an edited volume by Strubell and Boix-Fuster (2011), which is published in English, examine Catalan in a wider European context, and not simply in Catalonia. That said, whilst the volume dedicates space to the discussion of Catalan in other locations, the book's main focus remains Catalan in Catalonia. Yet, this is perhaps understandable since it is considered to be a successful example of language revitalisation (see Fishman, 2001).

In recent years, there have been a number of publications on language policy and language revitalisation which are specifically about the Valencian context; however, these tend to consider the region as a whole, or just the province of Valencia (see Blas Arroyo, 2002; Casesnoves Ferrer, 2010; Gimeno-Menéndez and Gómez-Molina, 2007; Lado, 2011; Ninyoles, 2002; Safont Jordà, 2006). Whilst the geographic focus of these studies does not coincide exactly with this particular study, they are useful in providing an overview of the general sociolinguistic setting in the Valencian Community, and also for comparing the provinces of Valencia and Alicante. However, there have also been a number of sociolinguistic studies about Alicante (see Colomina i Castanyer, 2002; Montoya Abat, 1996; Montoya Abat & Mas i Miralles, 2011). It should be noted that these works are usually undertaken by local researchers and are published in Valencian. Thus, they offer a localised approach, rather than the general perspective taken in edited volumes, which enables the specificities of local language policy to be considered. The study by Montoya Abat and Mas i Miralles (2011) is of particular significance since it offers a local approach to the study of the revitalisation of Valencian. Their research concentrates on the cities of Valencia, Castelló and Alicante, and their surrounding areas. In the case of Alicante, they consider the city itself and the towns of Sant Vicent del Raspeig, Petrer

and Guardamar. Of particular relevance to this study is their work in Sant Vicent del Raspeig, where they conducted interviews with a representative sample of the autochthonous population in order to uncover the vitality of Valencian.

This thesis seeks to add to this small field of study and bring the discussion of language policy in Alicante, which has previously been limited to a Catalan readership, to a wider audience. Additionally, within the context of Spanish sociolinguistics the subject of new speakers, those who learn a minority language through formal education rather than traditional intergenerational transmission, has developed as a research topic in recent years (see O'Rourke et al., 2015). However whilst attention has been given to new speakers of Galician, Catalan and Basque, those in the Valencian context have not yet been considered. In the Spanish context, new speakers have emerged as a result of linguistic normalisation policies since the transition to democracy. As is examined in chapter five, the presence of these additional speaker profiles due to increased access to minority languages challenges the existing sociolinguistic order. This results in the need to re-evaluate perceptions of language policy following such developments.

This thesis draws upon fieldwork data and existing literature to address the following research questions and it is useful for the reader to bear these questions in mind as they read the thesis.

- What is current language policy in Alicante and how do the three components of Spolsky's framework interact to influence the current sociolinguistic setting?
- What is the relationship between Castilian and Valencian and how does it compare to official statements about language, which were made over thirty years ago in the transition to democracy?
- What other themes emerge from the data and how do they also contribute to language policy?

In order to answer these questions, this thesis takes the following form. The next chapter, chapter two, is a literature review. It outlines language policy as an area of study and evaluates Spolsky's framework (2004), which is the main lens through

which language policy in Alicante is assessed. Additionally, other relevant theoretical perspectives are discussed with relation to this project. Chapter three provides a sociolinguistic context for this project and traces the historical, political, linguistic and social background of language policy in Alicante. This chapter also evaluates previous sociolinguistic surveys so that the findings about the local linguistic setting in Alicante are positioned in a wider context. Chapter four discusses the chosen methodology for this project. The practical aspects of this study are considered and the selection of research sites is justified. The fieldwork data is presented in chapter five and the various themes that emerged from the fieldwork questionnaires are analysed in depth. Drawing upon fieldwork data and incorporating appropriate theory, the chapter is divided into three themes: the composition of linguistic repertoires; the construction and perception of Valencian identity; Valencian in the audio-visual sphere. Finally, chapter six presents the conclusions from this research project. Additionally, the implications for future language policy are considered and aspects to pursue in future research projects are identified.

This project seeks to understand the complexity of language policy and how language practices, language beliefs and language management (Spolsky, 2004) interact at a local level to influence language policy in Alicante. By focussing on the specific area of Alicante, it will be possible to cast light on a previously under-researched area and also provide a local perspective of language policy, rather than the generalised view offered by the earlier large scale surveys, which are discussed in chapter three (see Generalitat Valenciana, 2005; 2010). As such, it is hoped that this investigation complements and builds upon existing work conducted on a much larger scale to offer a local view of language policy which considers language in its specific environment. This smaller-scale localised approach has enabled respondents to engage with the research project and reflect upon their own relationship with language policy (Davis, 2014; Niedzielski & Preston, 2003). This methodology, outlined in chapter four, also permits a close examination of the range of factors that operate at a local level to influence language policy.

Finally, this project seeks to add to the growing body of research into language policy in the European context and it is hoped that future research can build

upon the initial findings presented here. This thesis aims to further develop understandings of language policy and its evolution to reflect changing sociolinguistic circumstances as a result of the implementation of language revitalisation programmes.

## Chapter 2 - Literature Review

### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the literature and the theoretical perspectives consulted in this project. As will become clear, the main topic of discussion is language policy, and particular attention is focussed on Spolsky's tripartite framework (2004) since it is the main lens through which the sociolinguistic setting in Alicante is assessed. Spolsky's model is adapted in this study to gain a logical and thorough understanding of language policy in Alicante. However, as will be discussed, whilst offering many advantages, its broadness of depth also presents certain difficulties.

Contemporary scholars (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Shohamy, 2006; Spolsky, 2004) recommend that language policy be studied in the broadest possible context. As such, in order to encapsulate fully the complexity of language policy in Alicante, a range of theoretical perspectives, in addition to Spolsky (2004) are drawn upon in this project, and the various theories are discussed here. The chapter begins with an overview of language policy as a field of research, from its emergence as an area of enquiry in the 18th and 19th century (Wright, 2004: 8) to the present day. Following this, Spolsky's framework is considered in detail and the benefits and limitations of this theoretical model are assessed. Then, having considered language policy, attention turns to the other theoretical perspectives that are relevant to this study. As will become apparent later in the thesis, various themes emerged during data collection, which were pursued further in data analysis. As such, a range of theoretical frameworks is required in order to interpret and understand the data fully. Finally, having considered the relevant literature, concluding remarks are made.

### 2.2 Language Policy: current scholarship

Today, language policy is recognised as a broad and interdisciplinary branch of sociolinguistic research that developed into an identifiable academic discipline in the period after the Second World War (Spolsky, 2012). A review of the literature reveals how as research has evolved, the field has had several names and scholarship on the subject refers to language planning (Ager, 2001; Cooper, 1989; Ferguson, 1977), language policy (Schiffman, 1996; Shohamy, 2006; Spolsky, 2004), and language policy and planning (Ricento, 2000; Wright, 2004). Research in this area

involves not only the formulation of policy but also its implementation; therefore, it incorporates both theoretical and practical elements that stretch beyond the boundaries of the academic discipline of linguistics (Jernudd & Nekvapil, 2012: 17).

Originally, scholars working in this research area referred to their work as language planning (Spolsky, 2012: 3) and it was generally agreed that their language planning efforts produced language policy. Thus, language policy originally signified a written document of legislation, and therefore, was part of the larger process of language planning (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997: xi). However, over the years, the definition of language policy has expanded and contemporary scholarship positions language policy as a subfield of sociolinguistics, and more broadly as an area of enquiry within the broader spectrum of humanities and social sciences (Ricento, 2000; 2006). This perspective reflects language as being deeply rooted in society and recognises that linguistic behaviour is open to various social, political, historical, economic and cultural influences. As a result, there are various theoretical perspectives through which language policy can be assessed and there is no universal model of language policy due to the complex issues involved with language and society (Ricento, 2006). To an extent, the broadness of the field is advantageous since theories and frameworks of language policy can be adapted to reflect the particular circumstances of the community under study. However, Johnson (2013: 24) expresses concern about the wide scope of language policy and wonders whether it may be easier to simply identify what is not classed as language policy:

“Language policy” may become so loosely defined as to encompass almost any sociolinguistic phenomena and therefore become a very general descriptor in which all language attitudes, ideologies, and practices are categorized (Johnson, 2013: 24).

However, whilst a broad view of language policy brings certain associated limitations, this approach enables an extensive and detailed understanding of language policy. In this way, a wide range of factors, not simply language, are considered in its formation (Spolsky, 2004). As is discussed later in this chapter, this comprehensive view is advocated in Spolsky’s influential theoretical framework (2004) which positions

language policy as comprising the three independent but inter-related components of language management, language practices and language beliefs.

### 2.3 Language Policy as an Area of Academic Research

As was noted briefly in chapter one, language policy first appeared as an area of enquiry in the era of nation building in the 18th and 19th century (Wright, 2004: 8). As is discussed later in this chapter, ideas surrounding nationalism and belonging followed different models in the French and German contexts. Language policy developed into an area of academic study after the Second World War, when linguists were given the task of language planning in newly independent states (Ricento, 2000: 196; Spolsky, 2012). Since its emergence, language policy research has continued to evolve and Ricento (2000; 2006) identifies three phases of advancement in the field, which are now discussed. Whilst the three stages are distinct, there is a degree of overlap between each phase.

The first phase of language policy research, in the years following the Second World War, has been described by Jernudd and Nekvapil as 'classic language planning' (2012: 22). During this period, Western, or Westernised, language planners and policy-makers were enlisted to help in the modernisation of developing countries, often former colonies (Ricento, 2000). Linguists were charged with the selection and implementation of a unifying language and they worked on the creation of grammars and language standardisation. Particular emphasis was placed on corpus and status planning (see Cooper, 1989) for one language, for the sake of a unified nation. As such, the focus became monolingualism in order to achieve unity, rather than the preservation of multilingual societies, as is the case today (Wright, 2004). Corpus planning concerns efforts to select forms and structures of language that will be promoted as the standard. This work is conducted by corpus planners and contributes to processes of graphisation, standardisation and modernisation (Cooper, 1989: 125). Status planning refers to efforts to manage the function of a language, or its position or social status in society (Cooper, 1989: 99). This may mean selecting which language to promote as the official language.

During this first period of language policy research, it was commonly believed that language diversity would hinder modernisation, and consequently, linguists promoted a monolingual model of one nation, one language. Although linguistic diversity is now recognised as the norm and encouraged (Hornberger, 2002), the 'one nation, one language' ideology, which has its roots in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century nationalism, remains influential and continues to contribute to the stigmatisation and delegitimisation of minority languages as anti-modern (Fishman, 1991: 83). As will become evident in the course of this thesis, this ideology, which was promoted during the Franco regime (1939-1975), has been internalised and continues to be reproduced in vernacular discourse.

Internalisation refers to an attitude or behaviour becoming accepted as part of one's nature. Schiffman (1996: 276) comments that individuals bring a range of beliefs and 'cultural baggage' to their dealings with language, and discussing the Sardinian context, Tufi (2013: 148) notes how such beliefs and stereotypes can become part of 'collective memory'. Therefore, any analysis of language policy needs to consider the various beliefs and attitudes held by speakers. Discussing the role of folk linguistics, which concerns the comments that non-linguists make about their language (Preston, 2011: 5), Albury (2014) notes the importance of language beliefs when analysing language policy. He notes that 'a language policy narrative is incomplete if void of insights into language ideology' (2014: 95). As will become apparent in the data discussion, some of these beliefs, which have been inherited from previous circumstances, remain influential and continue to influence language policy.

A criticism of early language planners is that through their planning measures they were able to use language to exert influence over others. This perception led to the emergence of critical language policy, which is discussed later in this chapter. For example, Shohamy (2006: 9) considers that forcing people to use a language in a certain way could be understood as a form of oppression. The frequent selection of a European language, rather than an indigenous language, in post-colonial contexts is now interpreted as a means to reinforce unequal power relations between Westerners and developing nations (Ricento, 2000; Wright, 2004). Thus, influenced



by critical theory, academics working in the second and third stages of language policy research have distanced themselves from this approach and now value linguistic diversity.

Ricento (2000) locates the second stage of language policy research between the early 1970s and the late 1980s. This era saw a shift from the practical side of language policy, in particular the reconstruction of societies, to a more theoretical perspective as linguists identified the shortcomings of previous scholars' work. In this way, criticism emerged of the previous involvement of linguists in developing countries, whose efforts promoted monolingualism and contributed to language loss, which became a subject of increasing concern. During this period, linguists began to question and re-evaluate existing concepts and developed a broader, critical approach to research, which considered not only language, but its position within its environment. An influential theoretical perspective to emerge during this period was language ecology (Haugen, 1972) (see Mühlhäuser, 2001: 57-66). Language ecologists are concerned with the societal consequences of language loss and the language ecology metaphor places language loss as comparable with the loss of species in the natural world (Haugen, 1972; Hornberger, 2002). Fishman (1991: 4) notes that language loss not only results in the destruction of a language but also has consequences for local identity and local communities, and according to Crystal (2000: ix), language loss affects all members of society. This link between language and identity is explored further throughout the course of the thesis.

Although language ecology has faced criticism, which is discussed shortly, aspects of this approach have contributed to research theory and method in the field of language policy (Blackledge, 2008: 28). For example, today, assessments of language policy position language in society and consider the relationship between language, speakers and their environment, rather than focussing on language in isolation. However, as with other theoretical frameworks, there are advantages and limitations to the language ecology paradigm. For example, whilst the language ecology metaphor underlines the seriousness of language loss, this perspective may also reinforce the view that it is an inevitable part of the linguistic evolution cycle (May, 2004: 37). Yet, although there are limitations to the language ecology

metaphor, it does offer an inclusive view of language policy and emphasises importance of language and its environment. In keeping with this approach, this project considers current language policy and positions it in relation to previous social, cultural and linguistic circumstances. As will become apparent, political and social change in Spain during the transition to democracy has been particularly influential in the formulation of language policy. For example, as is considered in greater detail later in the thesis, the introduction of language legislation, and the resulting changes to the profile of the Valencian speaker, suggest that the relationship between speakers and their languages and identity are evolving in response to such developments.

The more critical approach to language policy that developed in the 1970s and 1980s contributed to the third phase of research that began in the mid-1980s and continues to the present day (Ricento, 2000). Today, language policy is a broad and interdisciplinary field of research and scholars position language as deeply rooted in everyday life (Ricento, 2014: 354). A critical approach to language policy recognises that whilst language is a means of communication and transmitting ideas, it is also a means of reproducing and reinforcing social inequalities (Ricento, 2014: 354). In this way, this perspective acknowledges that language policy often creates and sustains inequalities and policy makers often promote the interests of the dominant group (Tollefson, 2006: 42). As such, this strand of language policy critiques traditional models of research and advocates a wider view of language and society.

Adopting this broader and more critical view, Ricento and Hornberger (1996) propose a theoretical model which presents language policy as multifaceted and complex. Ricento and Hornberger (1996) conceptualise language policy as an onion with layers to represent the various factors at play in the formulation of language policy. According to their framework, the layers of the language policy onion interact with each other in different ways and to varying extents to contribute to language policy. Similarly, McCarty observes that language policy is 'an integrated and dynamic whole that operates within intersecting planes of local, regional, national and global influence (2011: 8). In other words, language policy operates and intersects at various levels. As such, McCarty (2011: 17) recommends incorporating a critical ethnographic

approach since it permits a detailed analysis of these processes, and how they interact in practice.

At the outer layer of the language policy onion are broad language policy objectives, which are articulated at a national level. The next layer of the language policy onion represents the institutions, such as schools or local governments, which interpret these guidelines at a more local level. Finally, at the inner level of the onion are the individuals who work at these local institutions such as teachers or administrative workers. This layer represents the interpersonal relations that exist and contribute to language policy. Thus, components of language policy interact across national, institutional and interpersonal layers, making language policy complex and fluid. Viewing a sociolinguistic setting as an onion with layers allows the nuances of language policy to be recognised. It comprises various agents, levels and processes of language policy which interact in multiple ways to contribute to a complex and dynamic language policy (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996: 419).

Ricento and Hornberger observe that language manipulation or intervention is not simply for linguistic purposes and that there may be other motivations such as political or economic reasons. Similarly, they note that both the presence and absence of explicit, or overt or official, language planning may contribute to language policy (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996: 404). Additionally, like Spolsky (2004), which is discussed later in the chapter, they note that the mere existence of explicit language policy does not guarantee that it will be implemented according to guidance, or even implemented at all. As such, they recommend that language policy be evaluated not only by official statements but by language practices and attitudes in context (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996: 417).

This more critical approach to language policy research which emerged in the third phase of language policy research (Ricento, 2000) has seen additional research strands emerge. During this current period, scholars have continued to consider the role of extra-linguistic factors on language use and have also focused on concerns such as the spread of English as a global language (Pennycook, 1994) and language loss (Crystal, 2000; Fishman, 1991). Furthermore, in response to social and political

change, researchers have devoted attention to developing areas of sociolinguistic research such as: the relationship between language and power (Bourdieu, 1991); the promotion of language diversity (Hornberger, 2002); and linguistic human rights (May, 2001; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006). Relevant aspects of these theoretical concepts are examined in greater detail later in this chapter.

#### 2.4 Spolsky's Framework of Language Policy

As has been discussed, theoretical frameworks developed in the most recent period of language policy research recommend a broad and inclusive view of language policy. For example, Ricento and Hornberger's theoretical model (1996) recognises the various layers that interact to contribute to language policy. Shohamy (2006) notes how actual language policy and official policy do not always coincide and that hidden agendas are often at play to manipulate a language setting. Similarly, Schiffman (1996) highlights the difference between explicit, or official, language policy (overt) and the implicit, or actual, language policy as it manifests itself at a local level (covert). Schiffman explains that it is perhaps misleading to accept official, or overt, language policy at face value, since the way that language policy operates at a grassroots level is influenced by covert components of linguistic culture (Schiffman, 1996: 27).

The model of language policy proposed by Spolsky (2004), which has been selected as the framework through which to assess language policy in this project, coincides with this broader and more critical approach to language policy research. Whilst some scholars use the term 'language policy' to refer to an explicit document advising on language use, Spolsky (2012) considers language policy in the broadest possible context and positions it as a branch of sociolinguistic research. Spolsky's theoretical model advocates that language policy not be treated as 'a closed universe' (2004: x)

The wide scope of Spolsky's framework (2004) offers advantages in that the sociolinguistic setting is considered systematically and in depth; however, as will become clear, the expanded definition of language policy also presents difficulties. For example, within the constraints of this thesis, it is not possible to consider every

single factor that may contribute to language policy in Alicante. However, in keeping with the broad approach to language policy advocated by Spolsky, later in this chapter additional theoretical perspectives that assist in analysing the data collected during fieldwork data are also considered. Although it does present certain limitations, Spolsky (2004) offers a broad overview of language policy in a given context and his framework can be adapted to allow a nuanced view of the local sociolinguistic setting. In this way, Albury suggests using Spolsky's tripartite framework to 'contextualise any grassroots language policy situation' (2016: 368-369) and he acknowledges that Spolsky's work can 'accommodate the multitude of disciplinary perspectives that language policy research demands' (Albury, 2016: 360).

Spolsky divides language policy into three interdependent components: language management, language practices and language beliefs. As will become apparent, each component can influence, and be influenced, by another. However, whilst the tripartite structure of Spolsky's framework enables a systematic approach to the study of a given sociolinguistic setting, the three components are not necessarily easily separated. Here, for ease of exposition, each component is examined in turn; however, the interdependence of the categories must be borne in mind. Therefore, due to the difficulty of separating each aspect of the framework, this study adopts a holistic view of Spolsky's theory in order to assess language policy in Alicante in the broadest possible sense.

Language management refers to an individual or a group making direct efforts to manipulate a language situation (Spolsky, 2004: 8). Like Ricento and Hornberger (1999), Spolsky comments that such interventions may not be linguistically motivated. Language management and its many manifestations are elaborated upon further in Spolsky (2009). Spolsky (2009) provides a range of examples of how language management can be implemented on various levels, for example within the home, work or educational environment.

Language management (Spolsky, 2004; 2009) has a broader definition than Spolsky's original use of the term 'language policy' (Spolsky and Shohamy, 1999), which was restricted to official declarations of language use. Thus, whilst language

management measures are often imposed by authorities, Spolsky's model (2004) reflects the fact that efforts to influence a language situation may also originate at a grassroots level. Therefore, in order to achieve a detailed understanding of language policy, a holistic view of language management must be adopted since efforts to manipulate linguistic behaviour can move in both directions (Cooper, 1989: 38).

Cooper states that excluding local language planning efforts from an analysis of language policy would 'impoverish the field' (1989: 38) since it would not allow a complete understanding of a community's sociolinguistic setting. As is discussed later, Fishman (1991) and Stroud (2001) both emphasise the importance of grassroots involvement in their theoretical approaches to bringing about sociolinguistic change. It is worth noting that in the Valencian context, such grassroots measures have been highlighted as a success, particularly in light of unfavourable political conditions, as discussed in the next chapter (see Strubell & Boix-Fuster, 2011: 8). This inclusive view of language policy coincides with Schiffman's work (1999) in which he argues that a community's language policy comprises overt *de jure* and covert *de facto* policies. Overt policies are those created and carried out by authorities, whereas covert policies are the sociolinguistic practices of a community that also contribute to its language policy.

Some speech communities may have an explicit written language management document; however, in others such a document may not exist or it may represent a false front, concealing the real language policy (Schiffman, 1996: 6). Therefore, management measures in place may not necessarily support explicit policy, and the existence of such texts does not necessarily guarantee their implementation or the realisation of the intended objectives (Spolsky, 2004: 11; Shohamy, 2006: 51). In fact, official texts may be ignored in favour of dominant language ideologies (Hornberger & Johnson (2007: 287). Instead, as is considered further in chapter five, additional factors, such as internalised ideologies, or extra-linguistic circumstances, for example, financial or political motivations, may act as a barrier to the implementation of language management. Due to such complications, Shohamy (2006: 50) recommends looking beyond written legislation documents and suggests that to understand fully a community's language policy it is necessary to

look at the range of language mechanisms, both overt and covert, which may be manipulated to influence language policy.

Language management, or efforts to control language practices or beliefs, are not usually carried out for linguistic or communicative purposes alone. Shohamy notes that language can be manipulated for political, economic or social gains (2006: 46) and her comments echo the stance adopted by Bourdieu (1991) who considers that language is not simply a means of communication but also a medium which can be manipulated to express one's own interests and to reinforce power relations. As such, an utterance is not only a means of transmitting information: it also expresses and reproduces social hierarchies.

As is discussed in greater detail later in the thesis, regional language legislation was implemented in Spain following the end of Franco's dictatorship as a reflection of the transition to democracy and in recognition of Spain's multilingual and multicultural character. However, the extent to which such measures were successfully introduced varies between the autonomous communities and their respective attitudes to language. Therefore, various management measures may operate and intersect at several levels in any given community at one time. Equally, when considering language management, it should be recognised that in contexts where explicit language management exists, not everyone will agree with the measures or agree to follow them. For example, in contexts of language revitalisation, Fishman (1991: 11) states that there will be people who oppose language revival efforts and their motivations must be ascertained in order for effective language management measures to be devised. Thus, in order to understand the actual language policy of a speech community, consideration must be given to the various language management measures in place and how they may result in, and be the result of, a complex web of language beliefs and practices, which interact at various levels. This broad view is incorporated into this study in order to encapsulate and appreciate fully the complexity of language policy in Alicante.

The next component of Spolsky's framework considers language practices, which are 'the sum of the sound, word and grammatical choices that an individual

speaker makes' (Spolsky, 2004: 9). Language practices refer to language use in its written and spoken form and such practices may influence and be influenced by language beliefs and language management. Language practices concern 'what actually happens, the 'real' language policy of the community' (Spolsky, 2012: 5). Therefore, an examination of language practices concerns the way in which members of a speech community use their language(s) rather than how they should use their language(s). For example, as is discussed in chapter five, there is disparity between official statements about language and actual language use in Alicante. As will become clear, this is due in part to varied linguistic proficiency and internalised ideologies from the Franco period that remain influential.

As with language management, language practices vary and differences may occur at community and individual level. This may be due to a range of language management measures experienced by individuals and their subsequent language beliefs. For instance, individuals in Alicante have grown up under two different political systems, with contrasting views towards language. As is considered further throughout the course of the thesis, such circumstances may contribute to variation in language proficiency and use, and also the continued adjustment of the position of languages in the individual and community repertoires. An assessment of language practices therefore requires a discussion of linguistic repertoires, which are considered later in this chapter.

The final component of Spolsky's framework, language beliefs, refers to how people feel about their language(s) or their linguistic attitudes (Spolsky, 2004: 14). Such beliefs may be inherited from the past or promoted by social circumstances. Since each component of Spolsky's framework is interrelated, language beliefs may be the result of, or result in, language management and language practices. Whilst beliefs are not necessarily easily identifiable, Schiffman (1996) highlights the importance of belief systems, attitudes and myths, which are deeply rooted in a community's linguistic culture, in the formation of language policy. Furthermore, Albury notes that 'a language policy narrative is incomplete if void of insights into language ideology' (2014: 95). Therefore, the identification and interpretation of language beliefs is an important part of the assessment of language policy in Alicante.



Language beliefs are a reflection of speakers' experiences and backgrounds, and as such, a complex range of attitudes towards language are to be found in any given speech community. As will become clear in subsequent chapters, in this particular research context, attitudes towards Valencian and Castilian are especially complex due to the significant social, political, cultural and linguistic change experienced since the transition to democracy.

Bourdieu (1991) states that discourses and features of speech are evaluated and given a symbolic price on the linguistic market and certain features are perceived as having a higher value than others. His work is particularly relevant when seeking to understand language beliefs in a minority language context. According to Bourdieu, minority languages are traditionally given a lower price than majority languages due to their limited, local, utility. Thus, May (2004: 41) states that majority languages are considered to have instrumental value, whereas minority languages are viewed as having sentimental value. According to this view, the social utility of minority languages is usually restricted to local markets, which may result in a lower perceived value. However, attitudes towards minority languages are more complex than this since their use may evoke a sense of legitimacy and authority due to its ties to a particular place. Such qualities are unlikely to be linked to the majority language which is usually associated with anonymity (Woolard, 2008b), and therefore, does not usually index territorial ties. According to Woolard, in modern western settings linguistic authority is often linked to ideologies of authenticity or anonymity (2016: 21). The ideology of authenticity positions a language as being deeply rooted in its community. As such, the language is very much 'from somewhere' (Woolard, 2016: 22) and connected to a particular place, which in turn confers authority. In contrast, hegemonic languages in modern societies acquire authority due to their anonymity. Unlike minority languages, they do not have such geographic and social connotations because they do not have a particular attachment to a place (Woolard, 2016: 25).

As a result of recent efforts to promote and revitalise minority languages through education programmes, the way in which a language is perceived as having authority has become more complex. Whilst the ideologies of authenticity and anonymity may be positioned as opposing each other, they intertwine in a complex

relationship (Woolard, 2016: 30). Multiple attitudes towards language exist in multilingual contexts, and as is discussed later in the thesis, such beliefs are also influential in terms of the perception and construction of identity. As is considered in greater detail in chapter five, the value of minority languages on such local markets is evolving in response to changes to the acquisition of minority languages, such as Valencian, and the subsequent emergence of new speakers. New speakers are individuals who acquire a minority language through formal learning, often as a result of language revitalisation efforts, rather than traditional intergenerational transmission (O'Rourke et al., 2015). As a result, minority languages are acquiring practical value, rather than simply symbolic connotations. New speakers of Valencian present a challenge to existing sociolinguistic hierarchies, and as will become apparent later in the thesis, data suggest that they have differing views on language, identity and regional belonging than traditional speakers.

As has been discussed, language policy research has adopted a critical perspective over time, and current scholarship promotes an inclusive and detailed understanding of a community in order to fully appreciate the nuances of language policy in context. The tripartite structure of Spolsky's framework presents benefits and limitations when assessing language policy. The division of language policy into three components allows a systematic and detailed approach to the assessment of a sociolinguistic setting, enabling a nuanced understanding of local language policy. However, the interdependence of language practices, beliefs and management, means that separating them does not allow the full picture to be presented. Therefore, the nature of Spolsky's framework instead calls for a holistic approach to the study of language policy. Since each component can influence, or be influenced by, another, to separate them would detract from the analysis of the findings. A further difficulty is caused by the fact that Spolsky uses the terms referenced in his framework interchangeably and there is a degree of overlap between them. Additionally, the three components of language policy do not necessarily coincide, and therefore, each component may reveal a different language policy (Spolsky, 2004: 217). Thus, the *de facto* language policy may initially be concealed and contradict official language management.

Reflecting the difficulties of separating these components, Spolsky positions language practices and beliefs as language policy (Johnson, 2013: 6), rather than simply contributing to language policy. This coincides with the stance adopted by Shohamy (2006) who views language practices as representing the *de facto* language policy. Emphasis is placed on language practices and beliefs because language management may not achieve its intended goal, and therefore, its success depends on the language practices and beliefs of the community (Spolsky, 2004: 218). As will be commented upon in greater depth in chapter five, language practices and beliefs are particularly influential in formulation of language policy in Alicante. Furthermore, linguistic behaviour and ideologies do not necessarily coincide with official language statements, which results in a complex sociolinguistic setting.

## 2.5 Additional Theoretical Concepts to Consider

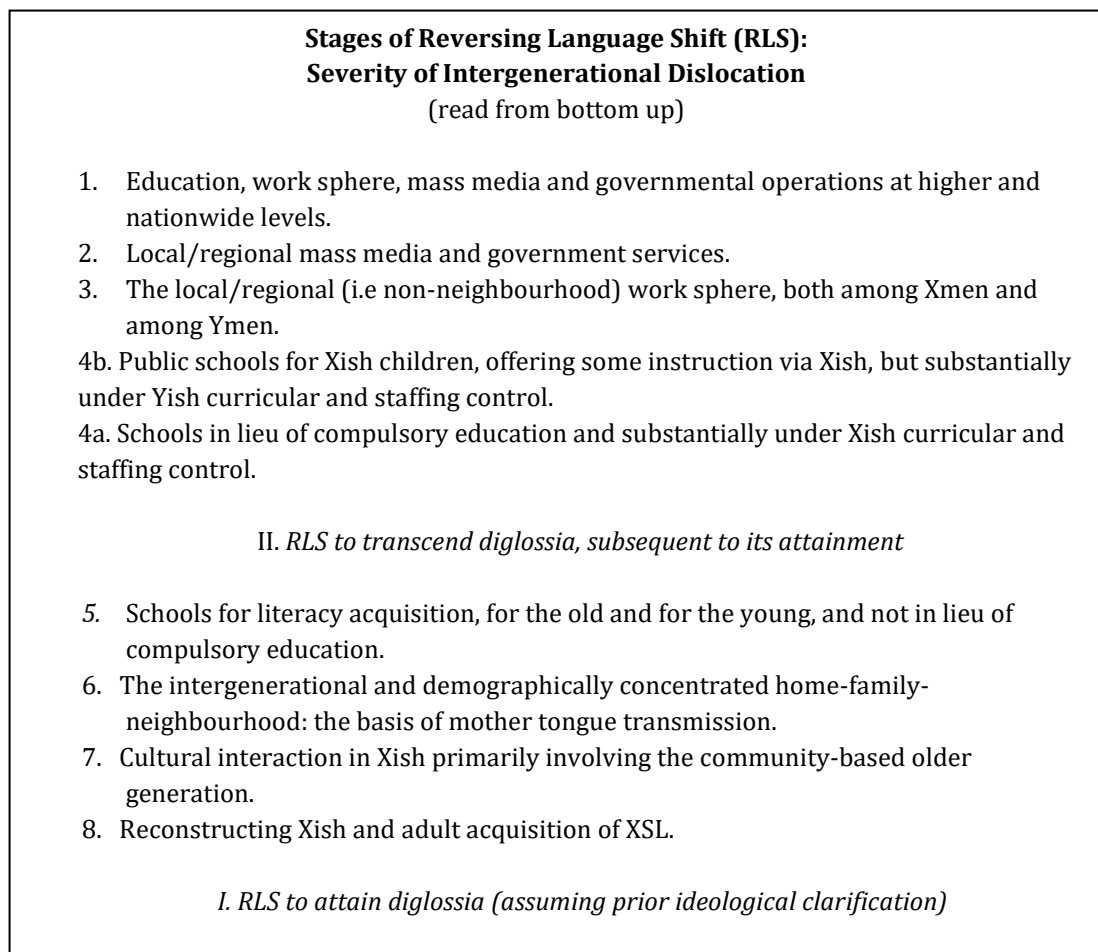
Since language policy research now advocates a comprehensive view of language and its position in society, a range of additional theoretical approaches are incorporated into this study to ensure that the complexity of language policy in Alicante is understood fully and interpreted in the widest possible context. These additional theories are now discussed and a critical view of existing theory is adopted and any adaptations that may need to be made in order to reflect current circumstances are considered. For example, as is considered shortly, Fishman's work on the reversal of language shift (1991) and Berruto's theory of dilalia (1989a; 1989b) may need to be updated in light of recent initiatives, such as the introduction of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages adopted in 1992 (see Grin, 2003), which is intended to revitalise and maintain Europe's regional languages.

### 2.5.1 The Reversal of Language Shift (RLS)

Fishman's (1991) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) is a theoretical framework that provides practical advice to communities undertaking efforts to revitalise a language that has been minoritised. Fishman's eight step model (see Figure 2) reflects the implications for linguistic diversity of societal phenomena such as globalisation, migration, modernisation and urbanisation. Although efforts to reverse language shift may be interpreted as anti-modern, Fishman (2001: 7-8) argues that language revitalisation activists are not opposed to modern processes;

instead, they would like greater control over their language and culture. However, Darquennes (2007: 67) questions whether Fishman's focus on localisation is the appropriate response to the threat to linguistic diversity posed by the processes of globalisation.

Figure 2: Fishman's GIDS model (1991: 395)



The framework is read from bottom to top and begins at step eight with small-scale revitalisation work. The scale ends at step one with the reversal of language shift occurring at the highest level. Fishman places particular emphasis on the work carried out at grassroots level. He considers such activities to be fundamental if intergenerational transmission is to be achieved and the language is to progress. He states that since language shift is a local problem, it requires a local solution which meets the particular requirements of the speech community. A focus on grassroots involvement is also encouraged in the linguistic citizenship model (Stroud, 2001;

Stroud & Heugh, 2004), which is discussed with reference to the closure of *Ràdio Televisió Valenciana* (RTVV) in chapter five. The linguistic citizenship perspective emerged as an alternative to the linguistic human rights paradigm (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006) in the field of minority language research. According to Stroud and Heugh (2004), focussing on linguistic human rights only serves to reinforce linguistic and social inequality and excludes the minorities that this approach is intended to protect. As an alternative, linguistic citizenship seeks to advocate community participation in matters of language policy rather than a reliance on legal or institutionalised provision. This perspective enables community empowerment and means that 'global, national and regional concerns are interpreted and negotiated locally' (Stroud, 2001: 353).

Hornberger and King (2001: 86) question whether placing emphasis on grassroots level involvement is necessarily the most appropriate approach to language revitalisation. They highlight how intergenerational transmission of the language is placed at stage six of the GIDS, yet they comment that their research on Quechua in Andean communities showed that whilst the language is promoted at a public level and has acquired political and cultural value, household use of Quechua remains elusive.

Fishman intends that users of the GIDS identify the level of endangerment of their language and then take the appropriate actions to improve linguistic vitality and move up the scale. In this way, language management measures should not be implemented at a higher level until the requirements at the lower stages have been met. However, communities undertaking RLS do not necessarily follow the scale in order and instead may jump to higher levels of the process before lower stages have been completed. An example of this is the implementation of media and education strategies before lower level requirements have been fulfilled. For example, as is discussed in later chapters, the end of the dictatorship in Spain saw newly created autonomous communities, in particular the Basque Country and Catalonia, quickly establish minority language media as a reflection of the new democratic era. Yet, Fishman places media provision at stage two of his GIDS. Fishman (1991: 403) is sceptical of the role of media in facilitating RLS and expresses concern that

communities often focus on symbolic goals, rather than intergenerational transmission. In contrast, others writing after Fishman consider the media to be a valuable language revival tool. Cormack (2007: 54) notes that the presence of minority language media may be interpreted as an indicator that a community is capable of participating in modern life and Crystal (2000: 130) states that granting a language space in the media can raise its status, and as a result, contribute to its future progression. Furthermore, whilst not specifically discussing the role of the media, May argues that 'legitimation and institutionalisation of a language are the key to its long-term survival in the modern world' (2001: 163). Academic literature considers Welsh and Catalan television to be examples of successful minority language media which have served to raise the social status of the languages in question (Crameri, 2008; Grin and Vaillancourt, 1999; Wright, 2012). Discussing the Catalan context, Strubell (2001: 262) comments that Catalan media provides a sense of community for those who consume it and that it generates discourse within the community. Equally, Grin and Vaillancourt (1999: 28) propose that television is likely to have a significant impact on language practices because it is an everyday activity for the majority of people.

However, whilst Fishman's framework brings certain advantages, such as his emphasis on grassroots participation, it also has limitations, due in part to the fact that certain aspects of his work are now out of date. It must be recognised that Fishman devised the GIDS in 1991 and his theoretical framework does not necessarily reflect current sociolinguistic circumstances. For example, his work was published prior to the creation of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in 1992 (see Grin, 2003), and the last thirty years has seen increased efforts to revitalise and maintain minority languages in Europe. Additionally, in terms of media output, technological developments mean that potential provision for broadcasts in the minority language is greater due to digital and online platforms (see Depau and Ghimenton, 2009). However, it should be noted that such developments also result in greater competition from content in the majority language (Cormack, 2005). As such, as is discussed in further detail in chapter five, Fishman's comments about the role of the media in language revitalisation efforts are perhaps outdated now. Yet,

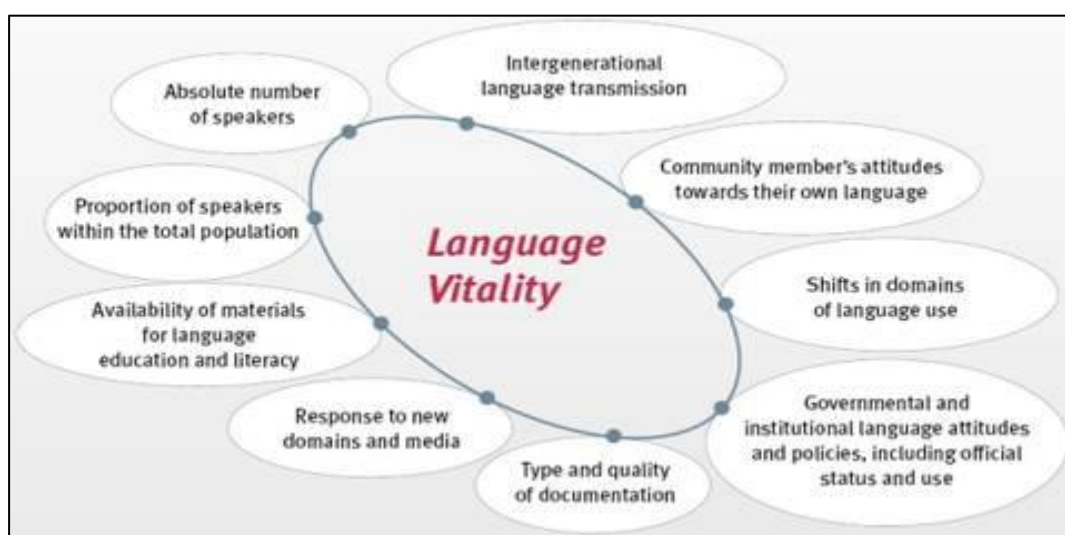
his theoretical framework is included in this literature review due to its considerable influence on language policy scholarship since its publication. Additionally, Fishman intended for his GIDS model to generate debate and further research.

Fishman's model concentrates on the revitalisation of minority languages via intergenerational transmission through which he seeks to reconstruct a community of native speakers (O'Rourke et al., 2015). Such an approach has led to criticism of RLS as backward and in contradiction of modern processes. Furthermore, Fishman's work does not necessarily reflect current circumstances. For example, following the implementation of language revitalisation and maintenance programmes in Europe, minority languages are more accessible and new speakers of such languages are emerging from formal learning environments, rather than traditional intergenerational transmission. As has already been mentioned and is discussed further in chapter five, the emergence of new speakers through education programmes calls into question the authority of the native speaker of minority languages, such as Valencian, which previous research has positioned as a central component of language revitalisation efforts (Costa, 2015; Hornsby, 2015; Jaffe, 2015; Ortega et al., 2015). This in turn has implications for language beliefs and wider language policy.

Whilst Fishman's work on the reversal of language shift has been particularly influential, it is necessary to note that it is not the only model of language revitalisation to have been suggested. Strubell (2001) proposes a model of language revitalisation known as the 'Catherine Wheel'. Unlike Fishman's linear model of language revitalisation, Strubell's framework is more flexible and reflects the dynamic nature of language. In this model, individuals are at the centre of any social change. The 'Catherine Wheel' has four components: language competence; social use of the language; presence and demand for products and services in the language; motivation to learn and use the language. The four components are linked, suggesting that language knowledge, leads to its social use, which in turn creates demand, which then leads to motivation to learn it. However, it should be noted that the model is an ideal; therefore, fulfilling of one component does not necessarily lead to the next (Darquennes, 2007: 68-69).

UNESCO (2003) also proposes a methodology for the assessment of language vitality and endangerment based upon nine inter-dependent factors (see Figure 3). In contrast to Fishman's scale, which recommends that each stage of the GIDS be fulfilled in order so that the reversal of language shift is achieved, this model suggests that no single factor or component is enough to ensure the vitality of a language. Instead, a range of factors work together to contribute to the viability of a language. This view coincides with the broad view of language policy adopted in this project, which considers how a variety of language management, practices and beliefs interact to result in a complex language policy.

Figure 3: UNESCO's nine factors that determine language vitality (UNESCO, 2003)



### 2.5.2 Identity

The construction and perception of identity is deeply rooted in language beliefs, one of the components of Spolsky's framework of language policy (2004). As will become apparent in chapter five, perceptions of Valencian identity and its construction were a frequent topic of discussion during data collection. As such, space is dedicated here to an overview of scholarly interest in identity and the development of associated ideas. It should also be noted that discussions of identity are often linked to debates about nationalism and also national and regional belonging, and as such, such matters are discussed in this section.



Schechter (2015) provides a detailed account of language, identity and culture and the way in which the relationship between these three components has been studied. She suggests that research in this area has passed through three phases, which will now be summarised. Schechter considers that early work on the link between language, culture and identity adopted a traditional social anthropological perspective (Schechter, 2015: 197). This approach views the three components as inextricably linked and rooted in one's ethnicity. During this period, language revitalisation was a central concern of scholars, and according to this early view, the loss of a language also means the loss of a culture (see Fishman, 1991). However, Schechter observes that in recent times, this approach has been criticised for promoting an essentialist view of language, identity and culture. In other words, suggesting that characteristics are inherent and cannot be acquired. This view also promoted the authority of the native speaker over other speaker profiles. In an era when language acquisition is no longer limited to traditional intergenerational transmission in the home, this has implications for wider language policy. The second scholarly phase is described by Schechter (2015: 198) as a sociocultural perspective, which she locates from the 1980s until the first decade of the twenty-first century. This view takes into consideration the complexity of the relationship between language, culture and identity and recognises that the components are increasingly multidimensional. Research in this period also recognised the limitations associated with the reductionist view of language, identity and culture adopted by earlier scholars. The third phase identified by Schechter is described as a participatory or relational perspective (2015: 200). This approach advocates the study of language use in places of contact. Thus, research focuses on how individuals draw upon a repertoire of semiotic resources in order to perform many identities and shift one's identity over time and space (see Blommaert, 2005: 210). Blommaert's work coincides with that of Hall (1996) who states that in modern settings identities are not unified; instead they are fragmented. Moreover, identities are 'never singular but multiply, constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions' (Hall, 1996: 4).

As noted by Schecter (2015), earlier scholars tended to adopt an essentialist view of language, identity and culture. In this way, the three components are perceived as fixed characteristics that one is born with. According to this way of thinking, one possesses an identity which cannot be changed. However, criticisms of earlier essentialised perceptions of identity have led to current thinking positioning identity as a dynamic social construct. Thus, identity is recognised as semiotic potential in the making and multiple and intersecting identities that develop over time and space are considered the norm (Blommaert, 2005). As such, identity is performed rather than possessed (Joseph, 2009: 14) and Blommaert (2005: 210) notes how this perspective enables imposed criteria of identity to be replaced with a detailed assessment of how people ascribe and inhabit identity through a range of identity features. In this way, individuals can perform many different identities rather than possess just one and they can participate in various communities of practice (see Eckert, 2000; 2006). In fact, Wardhaugh and Fuller note: 'It is such communities of practice that shape individuals, provide them with their identities, and often circumscribe what they can do' (2015: 69). In this way, Hall (1996: 4) comments that identities are about becoming rather than simply being and that they are built upon historical, cultural, and linguistic resources, which evolve over time. As is examined in chapter five, fieldwork data suggests that both essentialised and dynamic perspectives of identity are influential in the Valencian context and that increased access to Valencian, as a result of social and political change, has altered perceptions of Valencian identity. Thus, today there are multiple and overlapping Valencian identities; yet, certain identity characteristics, such as 'language' and 'place', are still perceived as essential by some. Therefore, as will become apparent later in the thesis, tension exists between essential and dynamic models of identity.

Additionally, debates about language and identity are often tied to discussions of nation, nationalism and belonging. As will become apparent, scholars do not agree on definitions of these terms, or the origins of such phenomena (Anderson, 2006: 3). As such, within the limited space of this chapter, it is not possible to detail every definition and interpretation of these terms. Instead, definitions and theoretical approaches that are relevant to this study will be highlighted and

discussed. This complexity surrounding terminology is observed by Anderson (2006). Faced with a range of ideas and definitions, he proposed his own definition of a nation. He describes a nation as, 'an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign' (Anderson, 2006: 6). The notion of an imagined community is relevant to discussions in chapter five about the perception and construction of Valencian identity and the idea that multiple and overlapping Valencian identities exist alongside each other. The community is imagined since all members cannot know all other members of the community, yet they are aware of their existence and share a sense of belonging. The community is limited because it has boundaries: borders marking the distinction between 'us' and 'them'. As is discussed in chapter five, language is often used to reinforce differences and languages can 'become markers of different ethnic groups and different nations' (Barbour, 2000: 10). Thus, a language is not only a means of communication; it is also a means of articulating and performing an identity (Blommaert, 2005). Moreover, identities may serve as a point of identification and unity; in this same way they may also reinforce differences and therefore, identities can both include and exclude (Hall, 1996: 5).

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been described as the era of nation-building (Wright, 2004: 8). Influenced by ideas emerging from the French Revolution, during this period, the nation-state model spread through Europe and sought to create linguistically homogenous communities (Wright, 2012: 59-61). As is explained in more detail later in this section, the nation-state model positions 'state' as predating 'nation', and as such, it is possible to become a member of the nation by adopting characteristics, such as, language. Membership of the nation could be achieved through language acquisition, and in this way, language could be used as a tool of inclusion, but also, exclusion (Wright, 2004: 7). Such developments led to the emergence of language policy and planning as a subject of academic enquiry in the 18th and 19th centuries (Wright, 2004: 8).

In the context of Spain, research in this area has focussed on peripheral nationalist movements or regional nationalism. In particular, attention has concentrated on the Basque, Catalan, and to a lesser extent, Galician, contexts. Smith

and Mar-Molinero (1996) offer an overview of nation-building in Spain and the development of peripheral nationalist movements, and Mar-Molinero (1996) considers how language has been appropriated differently in debates about nationalism and identity in Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia. Looking specifically at Catalonia, Smith (2014) offers a detailed look at the emergence of Catalan nationalism in the period 1770-1898. However, in brief, the early 19<sup>th</sup> century saw liberals attempt to construct a centralised and monolingual Spanish state. However, this was soon challenged by peripheral nationalist movements, which emerged in the 1860s in Catalonia, the Basque Country and also in Galicia. These alternative nationalisms strengthened further in the period between 1900 and 1930. However, Franco's fascist regime (1939-1975), which promoted linguistic and cultural homogeneity in order to create a united and centralised Spain, forced such movements underground. Ideas of regional nationalism and belonging re-emerged during the later stages of the dictatorship, and as is discussed in chapter three, the autonomous communities with their own languages, were the keenest to implement changes in the transition to democracy.

Whilst ideas of regional nationalism have been less developed in the Valencian Community than in neighbouring Catalonia, some of the associated ideas, particularly, the appropriation of language as a key component of identity, are relevant to discussions of Valencian identity. As is discussed in greater depth in chapter three, issues surrounding the name of the language spoken in the Valencian Community sparked tension and identity debate in the 1970s, and to an extent, the associated ideas have been internalised and continue to be produced in institutional and vernacular discourse. Therefore, space is dedicated here to a brief examination of the emergence of nationalism and an awareness of national belonging. Particular attention is given to deterministic and voluntaristic models of national belonging and the associated ideas of essentialised and dynamic conceptions of ideas. These ideas are discussed here with reference to the particular context of this study.

Early scholars theorised identity and national belonging as a deterministic and exclusive concept. In the eighteenth century, German romantic nationalist theorists Herder and Fichte promoted an ethnic view of nationalism. They proposed that

components of identity, such as race, language and religion are inherent and beyond an individual's control (see Hutchinson & Smith, 1994: 17-18; Özkirimli, 2010: 13-15). Wright (2012: 62) explains that the German model views nation as predating state; this contrasts with the French model, discussed shortly, which positions state before nation. In this way, German speakers could consider themselves a group. Yet, whilst language was an important component of German identity and belonging, it was not the sole feature; instead, ethnic ties were needed too. Therefore, according to the view promoted by Herder and Fichte, one cannot acquire an identity; rather one is born into one. Simply, learning German was not enough to become a part of the German identity. Whilst this view of identity has since been replaced by dynamic and fluid conception of identity (Blommaert, 2005: 210), certain aspects of this early view, such as the perceived importance of place and language remain influential in current identity debates (Freeland & Patrick, 2004: 5). Equally, Smith (2014: 4) states that in recent years scholars have come to agree that rather than representing two opposing views of identity, ethnic and civic models are interconnected. As such, there is overlap between the two perspectives and this is discussed further in chapter five.

The nineteenth century French scholar Renan (see Hutchinson & Smith, 1994: 17-18) rejected the rigid categories of race, language, and religion identified by Herder and Fichte and instead took a more inclusive view of identity and national belonging (see Özkirimli, 2010: 30). Renan adopted this stance in order to argue for the return of Alsace to France from Germany, in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the population (Zimmer, 2003: 9). Renan's vision of the nation as an inclusive concept, rather than the exclusive view held by Herder and Fichte, reflects social change in France following the French Revolution. This perspective encourages civic participation, since one is able to acquire an identity, rather than simply inherit one. This view rejects the notion that national belonging is defined by a set of essential characteristics. Instead, it is considered to be a voluntaristic concept, and therefore, one can choose to belong to an identity. As is discussed in greater detail in chapter three, the political definition of Valencian identity reflects this inclusive view. Yet, as will become apparent in subsequent chapters, whilst current scholarship positions identities as multiple and dynamic, certain characteristics, such as language

and territory remain influential in the construction and perception of identity (Blackledge, 2008: 33; Joseph, 2009: 15). Instead, early territorialised views of nationalism, as well as dynamic conceptions, continue to influence language beliefs, and therefore, contribute to the language policy of a community. As is discussed in chapter five, in particular, the characteristics of language, culture, territory and history, which are often perceived as essential, continue to be perceived as significant identity markers. Therefore, as will become clear, beliefs towards language and identity are complex. As a result of recent social and political change, there is tension between essentialised and dynamic conceptions of identity, which in turns contributes to a complex local language policy.

### 2.5.3 Linguistic Repertoires

As is examined in chapter five, during data collection and analysis it became apparent that linguistic repertoires have evolved in response to social, political and linguistic changes since the transition to democracy. Of particular significance is the introduction of Valencian on the school curriculum following the implementation of the *Llei d'Ús i Ensenyament del Valencià* in 1983, which is discussed further in the next chapter. The resulting greater accessibility of Valencian has implications in terms of the composition of linguistic repertoires and also raises important questions about linguistic authenticity and authority, which are considered later in the thesis.

Gumperz defines a linguistic repertoire as 'the totality of linguistic forms regularly employed in the course of socially significant interaction' (1964: 137). Thus, a linguistic repertoire is a set of linguistic resources used for communication, which is available at community and individual level. Busch (2012: 510) notes that Gumperz's original definition focusses on rules of communicative interaction that are learnt. However, current thinking views the linguistic repertoire as more dynamic than originally imagined by Gumperz. As such, the linguistic repertoire 'is achieved situationally in communicative interaction with others' (Busch, 2012: 518). Linguistic repertoires are viewed as dynamic and as resources that develop over time to match the experiences and requirements of the community and individual (Blommaert & Backus, 2012; Iannàccaro, 2011). This view recognises that individuals participate in various communities of practice (Eckert, 2000; 2006) over their lifetime and that their

linguistic resources adapt accordingly. In this way, the composition of repertoires is dependent on the environment of the individual and community. A repertoire may contain more than one language or several varieties of the same language. Access and use of these languages depends upon past linguistic experiences, language learning trajectories, and also, current sociolinguistic circumstances. Busch (2012: 520-521) suggests that the linguistic repertoire looks backwards and forwards; it contains the resources we need and have acquired from past experiences, but it also those that we desire. Therefore, the composition of the linguistic repertoires influences, and is influenced by, language management, practices and beliefs.

The decision about which language to use in a particular context depends on an individual's ability to understand societal norms and navigate between various codes. An appropriate code, whether this is a language or variety, must be selected according to the circumstance. As Gumperz notes: 'An individual's expertise in manipulating speech varieties is a function of his position within the social system' (1964: 149). However, as is discussed further in chapter five, fieldwork data suggest that linguistic proficiency (Spolsky, 2009) and internalised ideologies also inform language choices. As such, in Alicante there is disparity between official language statements and *de facto* language policy (see Shohamy, 2006), since not all speakers have shared the same linguistic trajectory. Therefore, an individual's ability to select an appropriate code is perhaps an indication of their language background. As is examined later in the thesis, in this particular context, data revealed that the time of one's formal education is a contributing factor to such decisions. An individual can only select a code if they have access to it, and access is only possible if they have been exposed to said code and they understand its application according to social conventions.

In terms of code, Bernstein (1971) identifies two types: restricted and elaborated. Those with a restricted code select linguistic forms from a limited range. Thus, the forms chosen do not necessarily match the circumstance but they are the forms available to the individual. Those with an elaborated code have access to a wider range of linguistic forms to choose from and these can be applied to a greater number of specific circumstances. Although an influential theory, Bernstein's work

has been subject to criticism in recent years due to the perceived link between language and social class. Crystal (2010: 40) notes that the complexity of Bernstein's theory often results in interpretations of his work being simplified, and as such, reducing code access to social class. In this way, those with a working class background are often assumed to only have access to a restricted code, whilst middle-class individuals are considered to have access to an elaborated code. However, this simplified view of language and class does not take into account additional factors, such as political or social conditions, which also contribute to language access. Access to an elaborated code usually results from a long period of formal and informal language learning and it is through formal learning that literacy and the standard language are usually accessed (see Milroy, 2001; 2007). As is discussed in chapter five with relation to the case of Alicante, learning experiences vary according to the education system that individuals experienced. This variation informs the composition of linguistic repertoires to reflect the environment and needs of the speaker (Blommaert & Backus, 2012: 20), which in turn influences language policy.

For those who have access to both Castilian and Valencian in their individual repertoire, the decision to use one language over another has significant connotations. Hymes (1986: 38-39) notes that the selection of one language or another may indicate a degree of social intimacy or imply a degree of distance. Additionally, Jaffe (1999) observes that the use of a minority language in certain contexts may index, or reflect, familiarity. She explains that since French is widely spoken in the public space, the use of Corsican in a village setting may symbolise social intimacy or 'villageness' (Jaffe, 1999: 103). However, minority language use in circumstances usually associated with the majority language, may be interpreted as marked behaviour. For example, Jaffe (1999) notes that in the Corsican context, the use of Corsican may carry political connotations. Such use may alienate other speakers and harm communicative use of the language (Jaffe, 1999: 281). Furthermore, language is closely tied to identity. In this way, language choice may also be a means of performing an identity, and as has already been discussed, current scholarship positions identity as semiotic potential in the making (Blommaert, 2005)



and multiple identities are recognised as the norm. Therefore, as is considered in chapter five, those with access to both Castilian and Valencian are in a position to perform various identities and participate in different communities of practice.

Individuals who have access to more than one language are often described as bilinguals in vernacular discourse. Yet, the term 'bilingual' can be problematic as definitions vary from individuals with a little knowledge of two languages to those with a perceived equal level of high proficiency in two languages. However, Romaine considers that 'the notion of being a balanced bilingual is an ideal one' (1995: 19), and therefore, it is unlikely to be achieved. Instead, the existence of varying degrees of bilingualism is usual and is a reflection of the various linguistic experiences and language trajectories of individuals within a speech community. Pavlenko (2006: 8) refers to balanced bilinguals as those with similar proficiency in both languages, whilst dominant bilinguals have higher proficiency in one of their languages. However, even with the use of different categories of bilingualism she acknowledges that the issue of language dominance is complex since bilingual individuals may be balanced in some language areas but dominant in others (Pavlenko, 2006: 8). Romaine (1995:19) also refers to different levels of bilingualism and notes that an individual may be bilingual in some domains and monolingual in others. As such, bilinguals may exhibit varying degrees of dominance across the skills of comprehension, reading, writing and speaking. As is examined further in chapter five, external factors such as formal education may result in unbalanced bilingualism. For example, as will be discussed, certain fieldwork respondents were bilingual speakers but mono-literate in Castilian due to the education system that they experienced. This has consequences for their language practices since proficiency may dictate language use (Spolsky, 2009).

Since academic literature positions the balanced bilingual as an unrealistic ideal, the notion of balanced bilingualism may be harmful to beliefs regarding authenticity, and in turn, may harm language practices. Romaine (1995: 19) states that illiterate speakers may believe that they do not know the language as well as those who are literate and Barton and Hamilton (1998: 18) note that literacy is often interpreted as a sign of being educated, whilst a lack of literacy may provoke feelings

of regret, fear, or stigma. Considering the Galician and Catalan contexts respectively, O'Rourke and Ramallo (2013) and Frekko (2009) both report the transfer of authority to new speakers who have been educated in the language. Although traditional native speakers are perceived as having an innate ability to speak the language, which new speakers often look up to, new speakers have access to the standard language through formal education, which is admired by traditional speakers who did not have such opportunities (O'Rourke & Ramallo, 2013: 302).

The complicated relationship between languages described at an individual level also occurs at a societal level since Romaine notes that 'no society needs two languages for the same set of functions' (1995: 19). Consequently, even when two languages have been declared as equally official, such as in the Valencian context, one language tends to be more socially dominant than another, as is discussed in greater detail later in the thesis. The co-existence of two languages often leads to discussions about language status, the relationship between each language, and language dominance. The relationship between languages in multilingual settings can be described from a number of theoretical perspectives, including diglossia (Ferguson, 1959) and dilalia (Berruto, 1989a; 1989b), which are now discussed.

#### 2.5.4 Diglossia

As is considered in more depth later in the thesis, data suggest that there is disparity between official statements about language and actual current language policy in Alicante. In other words, whilst Castilian and Valencian have equal official status, a hierarchy between the two languages persists to a certain extent, with Castilian holding a more dominant position in the linguistic repertoire. The term diglossia was first introduced to sociolinguistics by Ferguson (1959) and as is discussed later in this section, the concept continues to be revisited and redefined by scholars. Ferguson proposed diglossia to describe a stable condition where two language varieties coexist, with a separation of function between each variety. As such, the relationship between the two language varieties is hierarchical. Ferguson proposed the term diglossia to describe such circumstances because he believed that bilingualism did not adequately describe communities where one language variety has a higher status than another. In cases of diglossia, one language variety is

considered the *high* variety used in formal domains and the other variety is the *low* variety, used in informal domains. Each variety is only appropriate for a particular set of circumstances and there is very little overlap (Ferguson, 1959: 328). As such, diglossia describes a hierarchical relationship between two language varieties, whose uses are highly compartmentalised. As is discussed later in this section, other scholars built upon Ferguson's original work and extended his definition, making it less strict.

Ferguson formed his definition of diglossia after studying four speech communities and their defining languages (Arabic, Modern Greek, Swiss German and Haitian Creole). He then used his findings to identify nine characteristics of diglossia: function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardisation, stability, grammar, lexicon, and phonology. In each category there is a hierarchical separation between the language varieties, with the high variety only suitable in one set of circumstances and the low variety only appropriate in another. However, when Ferguson outlined his definition of diglossia, illiteracy was a regular feature of speech communities. Phenomena such as globalisation, urbanisation, and migration, which have sociolinguistic implications, were not present in the same way as today. Instead, conditions at the time would have reinforced the hierarchy that existed between the two language varieties. As such, individuals would understand which language variety would be appropriate according to the domain. Therefore, one set of behaviours would be expressed in one language variety and another in another language variety with little overlap (Fishman, 1967: 29).

Present circumstances, such as increased literacy, education, and mobility resulting from modernisation processes (Gellner, 1964) (see Hutchinson & Smith, 1994: 55-63) mean that today the boundaries between high and low variety are more blurred than when Ferguson was writing. For example, as a result of language revitalisation efforts in the European context, many minority languages, which Ferguson would have classed as low languages, are now employed in domains traditionally occupied by the majority language; for example the spheres of education or public administration. Furthermore, in diglossic communities the low variety is usually learnt by members of the speech community as their mother tongue, whilst the high variety is normally acquired through formal education

(Ferguson, 1959: 331). However, today due to language revitalisation work, minority languages may not only be acquired at home through intergenerational speakers but also at school, resulting in changes to existing sociolinguistic hierarchies (O'Rourke et al., 2015). Such developments alter the position of minority languages in the individual repertoire, and also the community repertoire, which in turn has implications for language policy. As such, whilst a social hierarchy may persist, perhaps due to consolidated ideologies from the past, such distinctions between the two varieties may be more blurred than previously, and an assessment of language policy in Alicante must take this into account.

In addition to the presence of minority languages in new domains, which were traditionally reserved for the majority language, today, majority languages are to be found in domains which were traditionally occupied by the minority language, such as the home (Berruto, 1989a). Berruto's work, and its implications for this study, are discussed later in this chapter. Current circumstances contrast with Ferguson's theory, which states that the high language is 'used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation' (Ferguson, 1959: 336). This overlap between languages and the blurring of linguistic domains requires a rethinking of whether diglossia remains an appropriate description of multilingual contexts where one language has a higher social status than the other. In fact, such changes, and the resulting greater complexity of multilingual settings, have prompted scholars such as García (2013) to question the traditional concept of diglossia. Instead, in response to social change, García suggests the term 'transglossia' to refer to contexts where two or more language varieties co-exist but do not have strict separate functions. Like diglossia, transglossia is a societal phenomenon; language users have access to two or more language varieties and a hierarchy exists to an extent. The boundaries between language domains are more blurred in cases of transglossia than in examples of diglossia; yet, language users are aware of the sociolinguistic hierarchy that exists and how to use their two, or more, language varieties. García explains that whereas diglossia refers to stable conditions where two language varieties exist in a hierarchy,

transglossia describes more fluid language practices, where language boundaries have blurred (García, 2013: 161).

A further problem that has been identified with Ferguson's original definition is that due to language revitalisation work and efforts to raise the status of minority languages, the terms *high* and *low* language, used by Ferguson, may no longer be appropriate. Today, when the equality of languages is encouraged, continuing to label languages as high or low may only serve to reinforce such beliefs of a hierarchy of languages. A further concern is that the many adaptations of diglossia by scholars, which are now discussed, has led to the term losing its original specific meaning (Berruto, 1989b: 553).

However, Ferguson intended for his theory of diglossia to initiate debate and he encouraged further discussion about the relationship between language varieties within speech communities. Therefore, Ferguson did not expect his description to be the final definition of diglossia; rather it was the first step in a debate which continues to this day. As has already been discussed, Ferguson's initial study continues to prompt further research and development of his original theoretical framework. For example, Gumperz (1962) expanded Ferguson's definition to include speech communities where two languages, rather than just two varieties, coexist, to be considered as diglossic and Fishman (1967) further developed the definition to consider the close relationship between diglossia and bilingualism.

Additionally, Abdulaziz Mkilifi (1972) builds upon the theory of diglossia and suggests that the sociolinguistic in Tanzania represents an example of triglossia. Abdulaziz Mkilifi (1972: 198) explains that triglossia refers to a setting where three languages exist alongside each other. In some areas they have well-defined functions and in others there is a degree of overlap. Abdulaziz Mkilifi provides as an example the co-existence of a regional language, which is primarily a spoken intergroup language, a local standardised lingua franca, which is used extensively in the education system and public life, and a world language, such as English. Whilst triglossia does not necessarily describe the conditions in the research context of Alicante, the idea of a three-way hierarchy does represent the sociolinguistic setting

to a certain extent. As is discussed in more detail in chapter five, data suggest that as more people gain access to standard Valencian some respondents position the Valencian that they grew up speaking in a hierarchy with standard Valencian and Castilian.

A further development of Ferguson's theory of diglossia which is of relevance to this study is Berruto's theory of dilalia (Berruto: 1989a; 1989b). In order to overcome the limitations associated with diglossia, Berruto developed his framework of dilalia to reflect contemporary circumstances and conditions specific to the Italian context.

### 2.5.5 Dilalia

Working in the Italian context, Berruto (1989a; 1989b) proposed his theory of dilalia to describe speech communities where a distinction between the high and low language exists; yet, in contrast to diglossia, there is a consistent overlap between the languages in certain contexts. Consequently, unlike diglossic communities where there is a strict separation between language varieties, in cases of dilalia the boundaries between domains are not always clear. Berruto proposed the term dilalia because he considered that whilst the Italian case is partially compatible with diglossia, there are some aspects that are substantially different. Berruto did not wish to adapt Ferguson's original work because he felt that the peculiarities of the Italian case deserved its own discussion (Trumper, 2011: 306).

As with diglossia, in cases of dilalia, there is, to an extent, a hierarchical relationship between language varieties. However, one of the main features of diglossia, that the high language is not used by any members of the speech community for ordinary conversation (Ferguson, 1959: 336) is not compatible with the Italian case. Instead, the high variety, Italian, is used by a large section of the population for ordinary everyday spoken purposes (Berruto, 1989a: 14). Therefore, in cases of dilalia, Italian's position in the community repertoire has evolved to become an alternative to local varieties for everyday conversation. As such, dilalia represents a blurring of boundaries between linguistic domains and a significant

difference between dilalia and diglossia is the 'presence of two separate varieties for ordinary conversation' (Berruto, 1989a: 14).

Dilalia mirrors changes in the linguistic repertoires in Italy due to cultural and social development, which promoted Italian over local varieties. Since the 1960s, Italian has expanded into all linguistic domains, often overlapping with, or replacing, local varieties in informal spheres due to factors such as urbanisation, education, population movements, and the introduction of mass-media (Berruto, 1989a; Dal Negro & Vietti, 2006). As a result, local varieties have a more restricted role than before and it is possible to function as a monolingual Italian speaker since Italian has become the default language in many communicative situations. Therefore, whilst all members of the population now have access to Italian, not all speakers have access to local varieties due to a process of language shift. As such, in contrast to transglossia, which represents fluidity at a societal level, dilalia operates at an individual level. Whilst some speakers have access to both local varieties and Italian, some speakers now only have access to Italian. As such, not all language users are aware of the sociolinguistic hierarchy that exists and is negotiated by some.

Since Berruto proposed the term, dilalia has become widely acknowledged in Italian sociolinguistics. However, it is rarely discussed outside of this context, despite Berruto calling for his definition to be considered in other contexts similar to the Italian case. That said, dilalia has been applied recently to describe the sociolinguistic situation in Gibraltar, where English is increasingly present in contexts traditional associated with Castilian or Yanito, the name given to the local variety of Castilian (Kellermann, 2001: 278-279). In this project, dilalia will be considered with reference to the case of Alicante and the complex relationship between Castilian and Valencian.

As has been discussed, Berruto's work considers current linguistic circumstances in a way that Ferguson's work could not. However, the concept of dilalia still presents certain limitations. Trumper (1989: 37-38) expresses concern that Berruto's definition of dilalia overgeneralises the behaviour of Italian middle classes. Trumper states that whilst the linguistic behaviour, described by Berruto (1989a; 1989b) as dilalia, may have described the behaviour of the middle classes, it did not

represent the behaviour of the working classes who spoke mainly in dialect. However, whilst this may have been the case in 1989, the Italian sociolinguistic setting has progressed and this phenomenon is now observed in the wider population (Dal Negro & Guerini, 2011: 3).

A further limitation is that whilst Berruto's description of dilalia clearly notes the spread of Italian to domains where local varieties were traditionally spoken, his definition does not necessarily consider the spread of the minority language to domains which were traditionally reserved for majority language use only. This is because Berruto was writing in 1989, before such developments had been observed. The spread of minority languages to new domains is increasingly common, particularly in a European context, due to language revitalisation work to promote the status of minority languages. For example, as is considered and evaluated in subsequent chapters, in 1983 the *Llei d'Ús i Ensenyament del Valencià* was introduced with the aim of raising the status of Valencian in domains such as education, the media, and public administration. As such, just as Berruto responded to Ferguson's call for greater research into communities where two language varieties coexist, it is necessary to adapt and reconsider Berruto's definition of dilalia to reflect current language policy, which has seen an increased effort to promote regional languages in recent years. Since language policy is dynamic, it is appropriate that definitions such as diglossia and dilalia be reconsidered and updated to reflect present sociolinguistic conditions.

## 2.6 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has outlined and evaluated a range of theoretical perspectives, which are incorporated into this study. In keeping with Spolsky's inclusive view of language policy (2004), this broad approach enables the complexity of language policy in Alicante to be encapsulated and interpreted in the fullest possible context. Considering Spolsky's framework alongside additional complementing theories will enable a comprehensive assessment of local language policy. Having provided the theoretical background of language policy research in this chapter, the next chapter considers the social, historical, linguistic and cultural context in Alicante, and how the complexity of the sociolinguistic setting informs current language policy.



## Chapter 3 - Sociolinguistic Context: historical, political, linguistic and social background

### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter offers a sociolinguistic context for this research project in order to provide a comprehensive interpretation of the data collected to assess current language policy in Alicante. In this chapter, issues that contribute to current language practices, beliefs, and management, and therefore, influence language policy (Spolsky, 2004) are considered. Spolsky notes that 'language policy exists within a complex set of social, political, economic, religious, demographic, educational and cultural factors' (2004: ix). Thus, in keeping with this broad view of language policy, this chapter focuses on extra-linguistic issues that need to be considered in order to understand and interpret data about current language policy in Alicante fully.

Since Spolsky and other scholars in the field advocate positioning language in a wide context (Ricento, 2006; Shohamy, 2006), this chapter covers a range of matters that contribute to, and help to interpret, the current sociolinguistic setting. As will be discussed, conflict about the name of the region and its language, especially during the transition period, continues to have repercussions for current language policy. To position this project in a wider research setting, Catalan is considered in the context of Europe and Spain, in addition to the specific setting of Valencian in the province of Alicante. A brief historical overview of Catalan is also provided, dating back to its origins in Europe, in order to understand the research context. Then, discussion focuses on more recent events, namely issues surrounding Spain's dictatorship and the subsequent transition to democracy and the implications for present and future language policy. Of particular relevance are the political, social, cultural and linguistic changes that the Valencian Community experienced during this period and how they contribute to language policy. The chapter concludes with an analysis of existing survey data which provides a general view of the current sociolinguistic setting, and is built upon in this thesis. The broad perspective adopted in this chapter enables a comprehensive assessment of current language policy to be conducted. In particular, examining recent historical events is in keeping with Mar-Molinero's (2000b: 83) observation that the dictatorship remains an important point

of reference for understanding contemporary Spanish society. In order to discuss such a variety of topics, for organisational purposes, this chapter is divided into two main sections. First, political and linguistic conflict in the Valencian Community is examined, and then, a chronological overview of Catalan is provided.

Throughout this chapter, it is necessary to bear in mind that Spain in its present form has only existed since the transition to democracy and the creation of Spain's Constitution in 1978. Although its origins date back to the historical Kingdom of Valencia, founded in 1238, the Valencian Community was founded in the transition to democracy as one of Spain's seventeen autonomous communities, when it was officially recognised in the Valencian Statute of Autonomy in 1982. Therefore, when discussing the history of Catalan in Europe, it should be noted that historical regions do not necessarily match present day political boundaries. Furthermore, political and linguistic borders do not always coincide.

### 3.2 Political and Linguistic Conflict in the Valencian Community

This section provides an overview of the political and linguistic disputes that have a bearing on current language policy. The particular focus of this section is the political conflict that emerged during the transition period that is often presented as a linguistic conflict. This dispute is said to have hindered efforts to promote Valencian following the transition to democracy (see Strubell & Boix-Fuster, 2011), and as such, has had an impact on the development of language policy.

#### 3.2.1 The Creation of the Valencian Community

Since the transition to democracy, 'Valencian Community' and 'Valencian' have been the official names of the autonomous community and its language, as defined in the Valencian Statute of Autonomy (see Figure 4). It should be noted that the Valencian Statute of Autonomy was initially created in 1982 and revised in 2006. Throughout this thesis, reference is made to the current statute (2006), unless otherwise stated. Despite official declarations about names and definitions, debate and ambiguity continue to surround the names selected to describe the autonomous community and its language. Moreover, as will become apparent, alternative terms, which are discussed in this chapter, are still employed in academic and vernacular discourse. This was observed during data collection and various terms for the region

and its language were employed by respondents. The use of these various names often has political connotations, and such ideologies, and their meaning and influence on current language policy, must therefore be understood.

Figure 4: Reference to the Valencian Community and Valencian in the Valencian Statute of Autonomy (Corts Valencianes, 2006)

<p><u>Article 1.1</u></p> <p>El Poble Valencià, històricament organitzat com a Regne de València, es constituïx en Comunitat Autònoma, dins de la unitat de la nació espanyola, com a expressió de la seua identitat diferenciada com a nacionalitat històrica i en l'exercici del dret d'autogovern que la Constitució espanyola reconeix a tota nacionalitat, <b>amb la denominació de Comunitat Valenciana.</b></p> <p><i>The Valencian People, historically organised as the Kingdom of Valencia, is constituted as an Autonomous Community, within the unity of the Spanish nation, as an expression of its distinct identity as an historical nationality and exercising the right to self-government that the Spanish Constitution recognises for any nationality, <b>with the name of the Valencian Community.</b></i></p> <p><u>Article 6.1</u></p> <p>La llengua pròpia de la Comunitat Valenciana és <b>el valencià.</b></p> <p><i>The Valencian Community's own language is <b>Valencian.</b></i></p>
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The establishment of The Valencian Community, with the creation of the Valencian Statute of Autonomy in 1982, marked the start of a new period of democracy in Spain. The term 'Valencian Community' was specifically created as a neutral term to overcome conflict associated with the past. Existing terms, which reference the foundations of the region (see Figure 5), became politically charged in the transition years. During this period, *País Valencià*<sup>1</sup> (Valencian Country), became associated with left-wing ideologies and *Regne de València* (Kingdom of Valencia) became linked with the right (see Ferrando Francés & Nicolás Amorós, 2011: 426).

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<sup>1</sup> 'País' is normally translated into English as 'country', and as such, one would expect 'País Valencià' to be translated into English as 'Valencian Country'. However, it should be noted that institutional discourse translates 'País Valencià' as 'Land of Valencia' (see Figure 5). Although this translation maintains territorial connection, between the region and the land, it could be said that employing 'land' rather than 'country' is an attempt to remove nationalist connotations associated with 'País Valencià.'

Figure 5: Preamble to the Valencian Statute of Autonomy (Corts Valencianes, 2006)

**La Comunitat Valenciana** va sorgir com a conseqüència de la manifestació de la voluntat autonòmica del poble de les províncies valencianes, després de l'etapa preautonòmica, a la qual va accedir en virtut del Reial Decret Llei 10/1978, de creació del Consell del País Valencià. **Aprovada la Constitució Espanyola, va ser, en el seu marc, on la tradició valenciana** provinent de l'històric Regne de València es va trobar amb la concepció moderna del País Valencià i va donar origen a l'autonomia valenciana, com a integradora dels dos corrents d'opinió que emmarquen tot allò que és valencià en un concepte cultural propi en l'estricta marc geogràfic que abasta.

*The Valencian Community resulted from the manifest will for autonomy shown by the people of the Valencian provinces, after the pre-autonomous period, which began thanks to the Royal Decree Law 10/1978, which created the Consell del País Valencià (Council of the Land of Valencia). Once the Spanish Constitution was passed, it was within this framework where the Valencian tradition stemming from the historical Kingdom of Valencia met the modern conception of the Land of Valencia and gave rise to Valencian autonomy, integrating the two currents of opinion that encompass everything that is Valencian in its own cultural concept within the strict geographical limits that autonomy sets out.*

Sanchis Guarner (1978: 173) cites the first use of *País Valencià* as occurring in 1767, although he states that at the time of his original publication (1933), the term was not yet in general usage, as it later became. However, in the twentieth century, the term gained political and cultural connotations. The associated ideas grew in popularity in the 1960s and were adopted by pro-Catalan Valencian nationalists. This group were influenced by Fuster (1962; 1982), who proposed that *País Valencià* could be used as an expression of identity and unity for Valencian people. This feeds into to the concept of *Països Catalans*, also supported by Fuster, which promotes cultural and linguistic unity between the Catalan-speaking territories of Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands and advocates the use of the term 'Catalan' to describe the language varieties spoken there (Casanova and Saragossà, 2010: 10). Fuster argued for the use of 'País Valencià' since he perceived 'kingdom' as too nostalgic and 'region' as having provincial connotations (Fuster, 1982: 6). Although originally a cultural concept, *Països Catalans* acquired an increasingly political dimension during the later years of Franco's regime.

The historical *Regne de València* was part of the Crown of Aragon, formed in 1238 and dissolved in 1707. Although it has now fallen out of popular use, the term was adopted by the right-wing Valencian secessionist movement in the 1960s, which

rejected the concept of *País Valencià* and Catalan unity and instead sought to highlight the differences between the two regions and their language varieties (see Flor, 2012). As will become apparent, whilst both groups had opposing views, language was an important component of the politically motivated ideologies promoted by both movements.

Choosing ‘Community’, rather than ‘country’ or ‘kingdom’, as the official name of the autonomous community was an attempt to eliminate nationalist connotations associated with the previously existing terms. However, the region’s previous names are still appropriated in discourse by individuals who hold the associated ideologies. Whilst *Regne de València* has fallen out of use, the concept of *País Valencià* remains influential. *País Valencià* was employed by a number of fieldwork respondents, who could be said to have a left-wing or pro-Catalan ideology. The term is also used in some academic literature (Baldaquí Escandell et al., 2010; Fabà and Montoya Abat, 2012; Ferrando Francés & Nicolás Amorós, 2011) and by cultural associations such as *Acció Cultural País Valencià*. Founded in 1978, to promote and protect Valencian, the first president of *Acció Cultural País Valencià* was Joan Fuster. As is discussed in chapter five, this association has been particularly active in the conflict surrounding Valencian in the audio-visual sphere. This continued use of ‘País Valencià’ and the connotations that are evoked must be acknowledged, since such beliefs and practices influence current language policy.

### 3.2.2 The Name of the Valencian Community’s Language

In the Valencian Community, Catalan is known as Valencian, although both terms are employed in academic and vernacular discourse with reference to the language spoken in the Valencian Community. Just like the name of the region, the name of the Valencian Community’s language is a matter of discussion and controversy and both terms may carry political connotations. The argument surrounding the name of the language spoken in the Valencian Community is complex, and therefore, could be the subject of its own research project. This section provides a brief overview of the relevant debates in order to understand the current sociolinguistic setting.

The post-dictatorship period in the Valencian Community saw a dispute between a right-leaning movement that wished to emphasise the linguistic differences between the two varieties (*blaverisme*) and a left-leaning group that identified with the notion of cultural and linguistic unity with Catalonia and its language (*fusterianisme*). The conservative and anti-Catalan Valencian secessionist movement, known as *blaverisme*, emerged in the city of Valencia due to the various political tensions during the transition from dictatorship to democracy (Flor, 2012). The movement takes its name from the blue (blau/blava) fringe of the Valencian flag, which distinguishes it from the similar Catalan flag. The secessionists viewed themselves as defenders of the 'Valencian language', which they considered to be independent of the Catalan language. Their views were in opposition to the pro-Catalan movement inspired by Fuster who consider Valencian to be a variety of Catalan and promote the term 'Catalan' to reflect the unity of the language. The *blaverists* rejected the concept of the unity of Catalan and accused left-wing Catalans of a plot to annex Valencia and absorb the language, thus depriving Valencian people of their identity (Casesnoves Ferrer, 2010: 480; Vila i Moreno, 2008: 166). Blaverists considered Catalan, rather than Castilian, as the greatest threat to Valencian, and as such, their focus on the perceived danger of Catalan diverted attention away from efforts to revitalise Valencian and discussions about social use of the language. This served to strengthen the dominance of Castilian, which Flor (2012) considers to be an intention of the *blaverists*. It has been argued that as a result, efforts to promote Valencian were harmed, which enabled further language shift from Valencian to Castilian (Casesnoves Ferrer, 2010; Lado, 2011: 142; Strubell & Boix-Fuster, 2011: 10).

This debate has been described as a dispute, between right and left wing politics, which has been presented as a linguistic one (Vernet and Pons, 2011: 67). Strubell and Boix-Fuster (2011: 10) comment that the conflict is not between Valencian and Catalan speakers, but rather between those who wish to promote the local language and those who do not object to language shift to Castilian. Such political arguments have lost influence in recent years following the creation of the *Academia Valenciana de la Llengua* (AVL), which is discussed later in this chapter; however, the ideologies associated with *blaverisme* and *fusterianisme* and the

resulting actions continue to have implications for language policy. Flor (2012) notes that the dispute about political and cultural identity diverted attention away from efforts to revitalise Valencian. Equally, attitudes and actions from this period contribute to the current sociolinguistic setting and remain influential in some quarters. Pradilla (1999) provides a more detailed summary of the philological, sociolinguistic and ideological debates that surround the issue of Valencian linguistic secessionism. He observes that the name of the language ought not to be a problem, except that it has been appropriated by both groups in their politically motivated ideology.

Article 7.1 of the original Valencian Statute of Autonomy (1982) declares that the official languages of the Valencian Community are Valencian and Castilian, and that citizens have the right to know and use them. The Statute of Autonomy was revised and updated in 2006, and in this later version, article 6.1 makes explicit reference to the notion that Valencian is the Valencian Community's own language:

‘La llengua pròpia de la Comunitat Valenciana és el valencià.’

*(The Valencian Community's own language is Valencian.)*

In the Spanish autonomous communities of Catalonia, the Valencian Community and the Balearic Islands, Catalan (known as Valencian in the Valencian Community) is recognised as the *lengua pròpia* (Castilian) or *llengua pròpia* (Catalan). This term emerged during the transition period to refer to non-Castilian regional languages that acquired official status, such as Catalan. Translating literally into English as ‘own language’, it avoids the problematic terms ‘national’, ‘regional’ and ‘official’, which can be ambiguous and carry unwanted connotations of superiority or inferiority (see Mar-Molinero, 2000b: 92). This term was included in the original statutes of autonomy of Catalonia (1979) and the Balearic Islands (1983). However, whilst it was also implied in the Valencian context, this was only made explicit in 2006 in the revised version (Vernet & Pons, 2011: 67).

The argument about whether the Valencian Community and Catalonia share a language, and the dispute between pro-Catalanists and anti-Catalanists, is also presented in the two standardised forms of the Valencian Community's language: *Les*

*Normes de Castelló*, created in 1932 and *Les Normes del Puig*, drawn up in 1979. *Les Normes de Castelló* are also known as *Les Normes del 32* in reference to the year when they were produced. As will become apparent, both examples of corpus planning (Cooper, 1989) have had implications for language policy (Spolsky, 2004) due to the political ideologies that led to their creation.

In 2002, the *Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua* (AVL), discussed later in this chapter, recognised *Les Normes de Castelló*, created in 1932, as the official standard of Valencian, and they recommend their use in the spheres of public administration and education (AVL, 2002). These orthographic rules are influenced by Pompeu Fabra's *Les Normes Ortogràfiques* and were approved in 1913 by the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* (IEC), an academic body that supports research into various aspects of Catalan culture and it is known for its contribution to the standardisation of Catalan. Philologist Sanchis i Guarner contributed to the formulation of *Les Normes de Castelló* and he considered Valencian to be a regional variety of Catalan (1933: 21). Accepting the unity of the varieties, Sanchis i Guarner, 1933) recognised Catalan as the scientific name for the language but acknowledged that the term 'Valencian' is more common in the region now known as the Valencian Community.

In 1979, when the linguistic secessionist movement was at its most active, a second set of standard rules of Valencian was created called *Les Normes del Puig*. These rules, which were drawn up by the *Real Acadèmia de Cultura Valenciana* (RACV), promote the view that Valencian and Catalan are separate languages. Unlike *Les Normes de Castelló*, which take reference from Catalan norms of orthography, *Les Normes del Puig* seek to highlight the differences between the varieties spoken in Catalonia and the Valencian Community. The RACV was founded in 1915 to promote Valencian culture and related research; however, in the late 1970s and early 1980s it adopted a linguistic secessionist stance (see Flor, 2012). Lledó (2011: 337), himself a member of the RACV, describes *Les Normes del Puig* as an independent standard for Valencian as he views *Les Normes de Castelló* as an acceptance of the subordination of Valencian to Catalan. *Les Normes del Puig* were adopted as the official standard for the year 1982-1983 by the *Conselleria d'Educació* (Education Department) and Valencia's city council between 1991 and 1995 (see Lledó, 2011:



342). The norms are still upheld by *Lo Rat Penat*, a cultural association founded in 1878, which is dedicated to the promotion of Valencian language and culture. Although it participated in the elaboration of *Les Normes de Castelló*, in the mid-1970s *Lo Rat Penat* assumed a secessionist viewpoint and members such as Sanchis i Guarner were expelled. In recent years, interest in *Les Normes del Puig* has declined. In the sphere of education, the norms are limited to valencianist student unions (Lledó, 2011: 343) and the number of publications adopting these rules has also fallen from 75 in 1998 to 15 in 2005 (Lledó, 2011: 346).

### 3.2.3 Ruling by the Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua (AVL)

In order to resolve the argument about the name of the Valencian Community's language and to prevent further damage to language revitalisation efforts, the *Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua* (AVL) was established in 1998. It is the official standardisation body for the Valencian language and its main aims are to select and promote the official standard form of Valencian and to encourage the social and normal use of the language (AVL, 2011). The academy was also given the responsibility of resolving ongoing disputes regarding the name of the language spoken in the Valencian Community. In 2002, it declared *Les Normes de Castelló* to be the official standard of Valencian. In 2005, it made an announcement on the name of the language spoken in the Valencian Community:

In accordance with the most reliable contributions made by Romance scholars from the 19th century until today, the historical tongue of the Valencians is, from a philological standpoint, also that shared by the autonomous communities of Catalonia and the Balearics Islands and the Principality of Andorra. It is also the historical language of other territories of the former Kingdom of Aragon. The different forms of speaking all of these territories constitute a language, that is, the same 'linguistic system'. Within these forms of speaking, Valencian has the same hierarchy and dignity as any other territorial modality of the linguistic system, and has its own characteristics, which the AVL will preserve and boost in accordance with Valencia's own lexicographical and literary history, its linguistic reality and consolidated normativisation based on the Norms of Castelló (Pradilla Cardona, 2011: 37-38 [adapted from AVL, 2005]).

In this statement, the AVL recognises the unity of Catalan and Valencian but opts to use the term Valencian to refer specifically to the language of the Valencian Community. As such, the Valencian Community's language is known as Valencian, but it is recognised as a variety of Catalan. However, whilst debates surrounding the name of the Valencian Community's language have since been appeased, the AVL has faced criticism in academic literature. Pradilla Cardona (2011: 36) states that it took a long time for the AVL to make any announcements and that the decisions made were a compromise designed to please all groups. Lado (2011: 143) also comments on the ambiguity of the statement and expresses concern about the political influence exerted over the AVL, since the academy was created and controlled by the *Generalitat Valenciana*.

### 3.2.4 Valencian and Catalan in current academic scholarship

As has been discussed, 'Valencian' and 'Catalan' were the subject of tension, particularly during the transition period, when the terms were appropriated by opposing cultural and political movements. A review of the literature suggests that academic discourse on the topic has also been influenced by existing ideologies. Discussing linguistic attitudes in Valencia, Casesnoves Ferrer describes the Valencian Community's language as Valencian, which she defines as 'the variety of Catalan traditionally spoken in the autonomous community of Valencia' (2010: 478). The view that Valencian is a regional variety of Catalan is shared by Pradilla (2000: 63). He comments that the terms Valencian, Majorcan, Minorcan and Eivissan exist alongside the name Catalan, which is recognised as referring to the language as a whole by Romance language scholars<sup>2</sup>. The use of the term 'variety' is perceived as impartial and it avoids using the terms 'language' or 'dialect', which may carry various connotations based on social, rather than linguistic differences. Penny (2000: 9-36) provides a useful overview of dialect, language and variety and he notes that 'variety' can refer to extended or limited contexts:

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<sup>2</sup> The term 'Valencian' is used to describe the geographic variety of Catalan spoken in the Valencian Community. 'Majorcan', 'Minorcan' and 'Eivissan' refer to the varieties present in the Balearic Islands of Majorca, Minorca and Ibiza respectively.

It [variety] is used here to denote any set of linguistic circumstances used in a specified set of social circumstances. These circumstances may be broadly or narrowly defined, so that all of the following, and many more, can be regarded as *varieties*: the English language, the Spanish language, American Spanish, Mexican Spanish, middle-class Spanish, the Spanish of the oldest generation, Valencian, Andalusian Spanish, the Spanish of auctioneers, the idiolect of a particular individual, standard Spanish (Penny, 2000: 19).

As such, employing 'variety' avoids unwanted associations of power and politics that may be attached to the terms 'language' and 'dialect'. Classing Valencian as a variety of Catalan avoids conflict over its status as a language or dialect. Furthermore, it enables the term 'Valencian' to be used specifically to define the variety of Catalan spoken in the Valencian Community. In contrast, Safont Jordà uses the term Catalan in her examination of language use and language attitudes in Valencia since the 'actual academic and agreed name of the language is Catalan' (2006: 93). However, she concedes that 'the term Valencian may also be employed in cases where reference is made to the use of the language in Valencian territories exclusively' (2006: 92). This view coincides with the language statement made by the AVL (2005). Having assessed current literature and examined the surrounding political and historical debates, it can be said that both Catalan and Valencian are deemed appropriate names for the language. Linguists agree that Catalan is the name of the language as a whole, although the name Valencian is accepted when specifically discussing the language variety spoken in the Valencian Community, rather than the whole Catalan-speaking territory.

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, the term 'Valencian' is used throughout this project to describe the language spoken in the Valencian Community since this research examines language revitalisation in the Valencian Community, rather than in all of the Catalan-speaking territories. Additionally, during fieldwork, the majority of respondents referred to the regional language as Valencian and Vila i Moreno (2008: 166) and Pradilla (2000: 69) comment that people in the Valencian Community tend to call their regional language Valencian rather than Catalan. Valencian is recognised as a geographical variety of Catalan (AVL, 2005) and the

Valencian Statute of Autonomy (2006) describes Valencian as the *llengua pròpia* of the Valencian Community. Using the term ‘Catalan’ rather than ‘Valencian’ could result in the alienation of speakers who may feel that this project is not about the language variety present in their region, and it may also provoke unwanted political connotations, as discussed earlier in this chapter. Thus, in this thesis, the term ‘Catalan’ is only used to describe the language as a whole, spoken across various territories.

Today, debates surrounding the name of the Valencian Community and its *llengua pròpia* have calmed; however, it must be noted that some of the associated ideologies remain influential, and therefore relevant, to this assessment of language policy in Alicante. For example, as is discussed in chapter five, ideas about the unity of Catalan are relevant to the debate surrounding the closure of the Valencian public broadcaster in November 2013, and the decision to cancel the relayed signal for Catalan television and radio in 2011. Additionally, the call for cultural and linguistic unity and collaboration between Catalan speaking territories, rather than territorial fragmentation, continues in academic literature amongst those concerned with language revitalisation (Branchadell & Mèlia, 2011; Gifreu, 2011). They promote the view that greater co-operation would strengthen the position of Catalan in an increasingly globalised world and that the current lack of a shared communicative space and territorial language policy has harmed the revitalisation of Catalan (Pradilla Cardona, 2011: 35). Highlighting the advantages of commonality through a unified linguistic component, rather than encouraging differences (see Stroud & Heugh, 2004) also has implications for identity debates, as discussed in chapter five.

The conflict surrounding the name of the Valencian Community’s language has been described as ‘artificial’ (Pradilla, 2000: 69) and ‘unnecessary’ (Casesnoves Ferrer, 2010: 480). This argument has hidden the real threat of language shift to Castilian and diverted attention away from efforts to revitalise Valencian (Lado, 2011: 142). Issues that came to the fore during the transition period, such as the dispute between Catalan and Valencian, the continued dominance of Castilian, the rise of linguistic secessionism, and political ambiguity, contributed to the current complex linguistic setting (Lado, 2011: 144) and also link to issues of identity, discussed later

in the thesis. Prior language beliefs and practices have implications for current language policy, and therefore, an understanding of previous events is necessary in order to interpret the data discussed in chapter five.

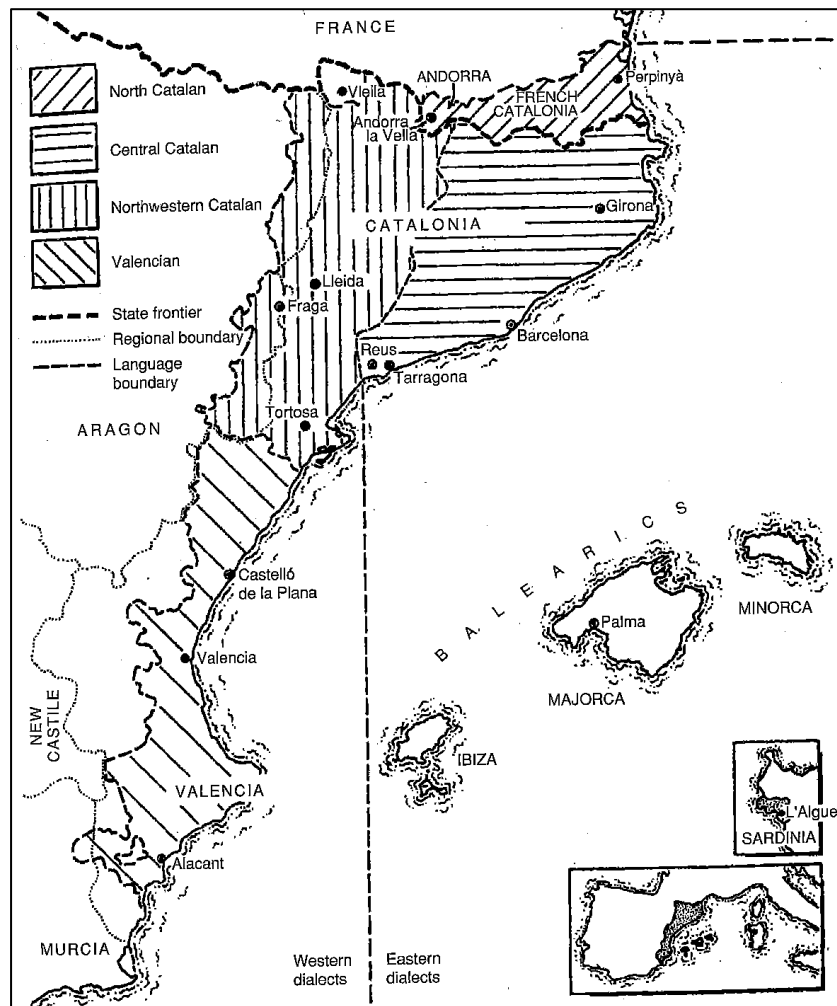
### 3.3 Catalan: an overview

Starting with a European-wide perspective and then gradually narrowing in on the specific research context of Alicante, this section provides a historical overview of Catalan. By discussing the emergence of Catalan, its subsequent spread and decline, and recent efforts to revitalise the language, it is possible to understand the current context in which language policy exists and is assessed in this project. Today, Catalan is present in Andorra, Spain, France, and Italy, and data indicate that 13 million people in Europe speak the language, making it the ninth largest language of the European Union (Institut Ramon Llull, 2015). Therefore, whilst academic literature refers to Catalan as a minority language, in the context of Europe and number of speakers, it could be said to be a medium-sized minority language (Institut Ramon Llull, 2015).

Catalan's status in its respective states varies and it is important to note that political and linguistic borders do not necessarily always coincide. Within Spain, Catalan is co-official with Castilian in the autonomous communities of Catalonia, the Valencian Community, and the Balearics. Catalan is also present in the area known as La Franja, which borders Catalonia on the eastern edge of the autonomous community of Aragon. In 2009, Catalan was recognised alongside the Aragonese language as one of Aragon's own and official languages in article 2.2 of the *Ley de Uso, Protección y Promoción de las Lenguas Propias de Aragón* (Boletín Oficial de Aragón, 2009). However, in 2013, the law was revised and specific mention of Aragonese and Catalan were removed (Boletín Oficial de Aragón, 2013). In Murcia, Valencian is present in the area of El Carxe, which was repopulated by immigrants from Valencia in modern times; however, it is not acknowledged specifically in the Murcian Statute of Autonomy (see Pradilla Cardona, 2011: 18; Vernet & Pons, 2011: 64-65). In Andorra, Catalan is the sole official language. In France, in 2007, the *département de Pyrénées-Orientales* adopted the *charte en faveur du Catalan*, which calls for the promotion of Catalan by local actors without challenging the position of

French in the area (see Blackwood & Tufi, 2015: 92). In Italy, Catalan is recognised as one of the historical minority languages according to Law 482/1999 of the *Norme in materia di tutela delle minoranze linguistiche storiche* (see Tufi, 2013: 146). Figure 6 shows the distribution of Catalan in Europe and also highlights the two varieties of the language: Eastern and Western.

Figure 6: Distribution of Catalan in Europe (Wheeler, 2006: 239)



### 3.3.1 Historical Overview of Catalan in Spain

This section offers a brief overview of Catalan in Spain, providing a historical context for this research project. As has been mentioned, it is necessary to bear in mind that it is not possible to speak specifically of Valencian in the Valencian Community until the transition to democracy. Therefore, a general overview of Catalan in Spain is provided and references to Valencian in the Valencian Community are made as and when is possible. This section begins by considering the emergence

and expansion of Catalan before moving on to examine its gradual decline and the process of language shift to Castilian between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century. Last, Catalan since the transition to democracy is discussed and more specific reference to Valencian in the Valencian Community is made.

As Wright (1994: 31) observes, it is difficult to locate exactly when the different languages of the Iberian Peninsula first emerged. By the 8<sup>th</sup> century, five distinct dialect groups had developed from Latin on the Iberian Peninsula: Galaico-Portuguese; Asturian Leonese; Castilian; Aragonese; Catalan (Mar-Molinero, 2000a: 83-84), although more precise distinctions did not exist until much later on, in the twelfth or perhaps thirteenth centuries (Wright, 1994: 41). Catalan developed from Vulgar Latin in the Eastern part of the Tarraconense province, one of three provinces in Roman Hispania, and it is thought to have emerged as a distinct language to Latin in around the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> century (Mar-Molinero, 2000a: 90; Vila i Moreno, 2008: 158). Yet, this too is subject to debate amongst scholars. In the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Catalan spread to Valencia and the Balearics when they were annexed by the crown of Aragon, which was inherited by the Count of Barcelona, Alfons I, in 1164.

From the 13<sup>th</sup> century to the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Catalan was the predominant language of the area in demolinguistic terms (Vila i Moreno, 2008: 158). Furthermore, between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, Catalan enjoyed a similar high level of prestige as French, Italian, and Castilian, and Catalan began to replace Latin as the language of cultural and literary production (Mar-Molinero, 2000a: 90). The 15<sup>th</sup> century is described as the Catalan Golden Age, and Valencia in particular, was a cultural and literary hub (Ferrando Francés & Nicolás Amorós, 2011:158-163; Mar-Molinero, 2000a: 90). In 1490, the novel *Tirant Lo Blanc*, written by Joanot Martorell (1410-1465) in Valencian, was published. It was translated into Castilian in 1511 and Italian in 1513. It became the most read non-religious text in Europe at the time and was praised by Miguel de Cervantes (Ferrando Francés & Nicolás Amorós, 2011: 162-163). Celebrated poet Ausiàs March (1400-1459) also originated from Valencia and was one of the first to write in the local vernacular, rather than Occitan, the traditional literary language. It was this period that nationalist historians of the Catalan *Renaixença* movement, which started in the 1850s, cited as the Catalan

Golden Age. At this time, the region occupied a position of power in the Mediterranean and Catalan was also a respected language of culture, and thus, this period later 'provided fertile soil for a regional cultural production (Smith and Mar-Molinero, 1996: 7). The term 'Valencian' was also first recorded during this era, in 1395, and was in general usage by the 15<sup>th</sup> century. In the way that the notion of linguistic unity is today expressed with the term 'Catalan', during this period it was expressed with the term *llemosí* (Casanova & Saragossà, 2010: 9).

Following the prestige enjoyed between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, the position of Catalan began to alter in the 16<sup>th</sup> century as Castilian spread and started to displace Catalan (Mar-Molinero, 2000a: 90; Vila i Moreno, 2008: 158). With reference to Valencia, Ninyoles (2002) provides a simplified model of the progression of language shift to Castilian and identifies three significant stages in the process: the 16<sup>th</sup> century; the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century; Franco's dictatorship (1936-1975). Initially, this shift to Castilian was gradual and horizontal, affecting only the upper sections of society; however, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, particularly during the dictatorship (1939-1975), this process accelerated to reach all social classes.

The period, starting at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, has been described as the birth of modern Spain and 'the beginning of the imposing of Castilian hegemony' (Mar-Molinero, 1996: 73). In 1469, Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon, who would later be known as the Catholic Monarchs, married. Isabella I became queen of Castile in 1474, whilst her husband was crowned king of Aragon in 1479. Although both ruled independently, their marriage united the two kingdoms (Smith and Mar-Molinero, 1996: 2). The Crown of Castile was forged from alliances between several kingdoms and the Crown of Aragon was a loose confederation of the territories of Catalonia, Valencian and Aragon (Smith and Mar-Molinero, 1996: 2). This alliance between the two crowns was completed when Navarre was incorporated into Castile in 1512 (Smith and Mar-Molinero, 1996: 2). Although this process is described as the unification of Spain, this union does not equate to a modern understanding of a nation. Instead, a range of languages continued to be used across the peninsula, although Castilian was starting to dominate amongst the



upper classes (Mar-Molinero, 1996: 73). Furthermore, clear attempts at centralisation did not begin until the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

However, King Ferdinand II tended to use Castilian, even with Catalan speakers, and from his reign onwards, the role of Catalan in international relations and the courts was reduced. As such, Castilian started to gain prestige due to its royal associations (Ferrando Francés & Nicolás Amorós, 2011: 148). This led to the adoption of Castilian by the nobility towards the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century who perceived Castilian as a means of political and social mobility (Ferrando Francés & Nicolás Amorós, 2011: 149). Additionally, during this period, Castilian began to gain importance in the literary sphere. The 15<sup>th</sup> century Golden Age of Catalan literature and cultural activity did not continue and the 16<sup>th</sup> century saw an increasing number of books published in Castilian (Ferrando Francés & Nicolás Amorós, 2011: 148; 158).

Yet, despite the gradual rise in prestige of Castilian during the 15<sup>th</sup> century, its acquisition remained restricted to the highest social classes. The 16<sup>th</sup> century saw the extension and acceleration of this Castilianisation process as members of the high clergy and aristocracy acquired Castilian, particularly in the cities of Valencia and Barcelona where Castilian was adopted as the language of culture (Casesnoves Ferrer et al., 2006: 199; Ferrando Francés & Nicolás Amorós, 2011: 150; Ninyoles 2002). Thus, Castilian maintained its associations with the social elite due to the perceived power and prestige of its speakers, who included members of the monarchy, Inquisition, and the Catholic Church (Casesnoves Ferrer et al., 2006: 199).

The linguistic behaviour of society's upper classes displayed characteristics of diglossia and bilingualism as described by Fishman (1967). This section of society had two languages available to them, each with separate functions. Castilian occupied formal or high domains and was used in court and cultural activities, whilst Catalan held the position of low language and was maintained for informal use, such as with family and similar everyday communication (Ferrando Francés & Nicolás Amorós, 2011: 149). However, whilst the elite became bilingual speakers of Catalan and Castilian, the rest of the population continued as monolingual Catalan speakers (Ferrando Francés & Nicolás Amorós, 2011: 152). Therefore, language became an

indicator of social position and was used as a tool to maintain social hierarchies: Castilian was the language of the elite, whereas Catalan was the language of the masses.

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the institutional position of Castilian continued to strengthen as Catalan began to be displaced from public domains (Casesnoves Ferrer et al., 2006: 199; Mar-Molinero, 1996: 74; Vila i Moreno, 2008: 159). Castilian was now the language of the Church, education system and army, and as such, it continued to gain social prestige and was further legitimised. The prestige and influence associated with Castilian continued to grow in this period. For example, in 1713, *Real Academia Española* (RAE) was founded with the motto ‘limpia, fija, y da esplendor<sup>3</sup>’ and it was charged with the protection and promotion of Castilian. Additionally, on 11 September 1714, Catalan troops who fought in support of the Habsburgs were defeated by the Bourbons in the War of Succession. This date is now celebrated as Catalonia’s national day. The *Decreto de Nueva Planta* of 1716, which followed, led to further centralisation and strengthening of Castilian, whilst Catalonia’s political institutions and liberties were abolished (Smith & Mar-Molinero, 1996: 9).

Measures resulting in the spread of Castilian and restriction of Catalan continued in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which further cemented the social prestige of Castilian. For example, in 1857, the RAE became the sole authority on linguistic matters in the education system. In 1867, it was declared that the Office of the Censor was banned from authorising work written only in the ‘provincial dialects of Spain’, the way in which non-Castilian languages were described at this time (Casesnoves Ferrer et al., 2006: 200). In 1870, inscriptions in Catalan in the Civil Registry were prohibited (Casesnoves Ferrer et al., 2006: 200). Although these measures contributed to strengthening the position of Castilian, the majority of the population still had little or no contact with state agencies. For example, whilst the education system was declared universal and compulsory in 1857, it was accessed by less than half the population by 1900. As such, Catalan remained the language of the majority and

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<sup>3</sup> The motto translates into English as ‘(it) cleans, (it) fixes, and (it) casts splendour’.

continued to maintain its position in other domains (Vila i Moreno, 2008: 159). Therefore, until the start of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, social Castilianisation was limited to the elite. This process did not affect the middle classes and below, who remained monolingual speakers of Catalan.

In Catalonia, frustration with Spain's decadence and its fall from the international stage inspired the emergence and development of peripheral nationalism, which was influenced by the European Romantic movement (see Dowling, 2013; Mar-Molinero, 1996; Smith, 2014). The Catalanian *Renaixença* began in the 1850s, initially as a cultural movement, which encouraged literary output and cultural activity in Catalan, such as the *Jocs Florals* (poetry competitions). Bonaventura Carles Aribau's poem, 'Oda a la Pàtria', written in 1833, is usually positioned as the starting point of this cultural revival (Dowling, 2013: 12). However, the *Renaixença* developed into a political movement, which coincided with Catalonia's emergence as an industrial society (Mar-Molinero, 2000a: 90), and Dowling (2013: 3) observes that Catalan nationalism continued to develop and be consolidated in the first three decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The *Renaixença* positioned the Catalan language as a fundamental component in its claims for a separate identity. Influenced by German Romantic nationalists such as Herder and Fichte, who held an essentialised and deterministic view of identity and belonging (see Özkirimli, 2010: 13-14), Enric Prat de la Riba (1870-1917) was a key figure in the Catalan nationalist movement. He cited language, along with culture and territory as key components defining the Catalan nation (see Mar-Molinero, 1996: 77), and as is discussed in chapter five, essentialised conceptions of identity remain influential today (see Guibernau, 2004). He later became the first president of the *Mancomunitat de Catalunya* (1914-1925) and founded the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* in 1907. The *Mancomunitat*, discussed later in this chapter, promoted Catalan culture and gave Catalan official status (see Dowling, 2013). However, the *Mancomunitat* was dissolved by the dictator Primo de Rivera in 1925 who sought to create a united Spain. The end of his dictatorship and the declaration of the second Spanish Republic in 1931 saw the establishment of the *Generalitat de Catalunya*, and once again Catalan was acknowledged officially (in 1932 its Statute of Autonomy declared

Catalan and Castilian as co-official). However, this period was short-lived and the *Generalitat de Catalunya* was suppressed between 1934 and 1936 (Ferrando Francés & Nicolás Amorós, 2011: 388).

It should be noted that although the *Renaixença* had some cultural influence in Valencia and the Balearic Islands, it did not have the same political impact (Mar-Molinero, 2000a: 92). In Catalonia, Catalan retained prestige amongst the upper classes; however, by this time in Valencia, the language was associated with lower classes because the upper classes had shifted to Castilian. In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the spread of Castilian extended to the *petite bourgeoisie*, particularly in the city of Valencia (Ninyoles, 2002). As with the upper classes previously, this social group was attracted to Castilian due to its association with the powerful elite and its consideration as a language of prestige. Therefore, using Castilian continued to be a marker of social distinction and distinguished its speakers from ordinary people who continued to speak Valencian.

During the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Castilianisation process developed quickly to affect all members of the population rather than just the upper classes (Ninyoles, 2002). The principal influencing factor in the spread of Castilian was the Franco dictatorship (Casesnoves Ferrer & Sankoff, 2004: 4), and as is discussed later in this chapter, the consequences of the regime, and its attitude towards regional languages, continue to influence language policy today. However, whilst Franco's regime (1939-1975) is highlighted as a significant influencing factor in the Castilianisation process, it is important to note that prior to his rule Spain experienced an earlier dictatorship (1923-1930) led by Primo de Rivera, mentioned earlier in this section, which also had consequences in terms of language and identity. Inspired by a strong sense of Spanish nationalism, Primo de Rivera made a series of rulings designed to oppress regional identities and languages, which he perceived as a threat to Spanish (see Ferrando Francés & Nicolás Amorós, 2011: 387-388). Thus, Catalan teaching in schools was forbidden in 1923 and *Jocs Florals* were banned the following year.

Following the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), Franco's regime, which lasted until his death in 1975, sought to create a united and culturally and linguistically homogenous Spain (Guibernau, 2004: 36). In 1939, Franco declared that Spain would have one language, Castilian, and one identity, Spanish (Cucó, 1989: 211). The early years of the dictatorship saw the implementation of a number of laws designed to strengthen the position of Castilian (see Ferrando Francés & Nicolás Amorós, 2011: 427). For example, in 1940, the public use of Catalan was banned, and in 1945, a monolingual Castilian primary education system was implemented. The regime sought to delegitimise regional languages and their speakers and promoted Castilian as the sole permitted variety. Thus, the use of regional languages, which were described by the regime as 'dialects' was considered anti-patriotic and such varieties were ridiculed as the 'speech only of the uneducated and peasantry' (Mar-Molinero, 2000a: 98). The media was also utilised to promote the superiority of Castilian and inferiority of regional languages. Non-Castilian languages were constructed as having a restricted local value and their use was limited to topics such as local traditions, whilst Castilian was used to report topics of perceived greater importance, such as the news and politics (Mar-Molinero, 2000a: 98). Consequently, due to the strict linguistic measures enforced during the early years of the dictatorship, regional languages became restricted to situations where people could be sure that they would not be overheard, such as at home or in rural areas, which further encouraged shift to Castilian.

In addition to the use of public discourse and media manipulation to delegitimise non-Castilian languages, in the 1960s and 1970s migration from Castilian-speaking areas to bilingual regions was promoted to dilute regional linguistic and cultural identities and support centralism (Montaruli et al., 2011: 96). Although the regime sought to discourage regional identities, most migrants would have been unaware of these hidden motivations and instead moved for work opportunities (Guibernau, 2004: 69). This period saw a move away from agriculture in rural areas towards industry in urban contexts, and regional languages were increasingly linked to rural settings (Casesnoves Ferrer & Sankoff, 2004: 5). Consequently, languages such as Valencian were perceived as having less utility than

Castilian, which gained instrumental value due to its association with work and economic opportunity (see May, 2004: 41). Such negative connotations led to the stigmatisation of regional language speakers, which contributed further to language shift to Castilian. Additionally, Mar-Molinero (2000b: 85) notes that whilst intergenerational transmission of non-Castilian languages was still possible within the confines of the home, this became hindered by sentiments of inferiority and guilt. Thus, Castilian spread to new domains, such as the home, which were traditionally associated with regional languages. In turn, whilst Castilian extended, the use non-Castilian varieties became further restricted, which as is considered further in chapter five, suggests conditions of *dilalia* (Berruto, 1989a; 1989b).

As a result of population movements and new work opportunities, a new monolingual Castilian-speaking working class emerged in Catalan-speaking areas of Spain. The mass language shift that occurred during this period served to reinforce the hierarchical relationship between Castilian and regional languages (Casesnoves Ferrer et al., 2006: 201). In Valencia in particular, Castilian continued to acquire prestige due to its associations with economic progress and urban life whilst speakers of regional languages were perceived as disadvantaged and isolated from urban modern life. Casesnoves Ferrer et al. (2006: 201-202) note a difference in beliefs towards Castilian in Catalonia and Valencia resulting from previous circumstances. In the Valencian Community, Castilian is associated with economic progress and education since many Valencian speakers shifted to Castilian in the search for social mobility. Conversely, in Catalonia, Castilian carries working class connotations due to the large number of immigrants who moved to the area for work, whilst Catalan is the language of working, and also, middle classes, and those who are seen to be socially mobile.

Due to the various factors at play, language shift during this stage was rapid, rather than the gradual process seen during the previous two stages. As a result, Castilian's value on the local linguistic market altered (Bourdieu, 1991); it was no longer a marker of social prestige, rather it became the language of the masses. As discussed in chapter two, in cases of *dilalia* (Berruto, 1989; 1989b), Castilian spread to domains that had previously been occupied by the regional language and

Valencian use became increasingly restricted. As will be examined in chapter five, such beliefs have been internalised and continue to influence language attitudes, and consequently language practices, today.

The transition to democracy saw many social, political and cultural changes, but here the focus is on developments that are relevant to the assessment of current language policy. During this period, official recognition was given to regional languages that had previously been suppressed. The 1978 Spanish Constitution, which was drawn up as a consensus between the various political parties following the end of the dictatorship, acknowledged the multilingual and multicultural character of Spain (Guibernau, 2004; 72; Mar-Molinero, 2000a: 99). The transition to democracy marked a shift in the official stance towards languages other than Castilian, and as is discussed in chapter five, such developments led to a change in the construction of identities and linguistic repertoires, which in turn, influence language policy. However, it should be noted that the promotion of non-Castilian languages is restricted to their respective territorial areas, which it could be argued ensures the continued dominance of Castilian (Mar-Molinero, 2000a: 103).

The creation of the Spanish Constitution was followed by the implementation of Statutes of Autonomies in the newly created autonomous communities. Catalan became co-official with Castilian in the autonomous communities of Catalonia, the Valencian Community and the Balearics; however, scholars observe that the social status and prestige of Catalan across the three communities varies. As will become apparent, official language statements and *de facto* language policy do not always coincide (Spolsky, 2004; Shohamy, 2006), and as such, there is disparity in terms of current language policy in the regions where Catalan is co-official. Academic literature has cited Catalan in Catalonia as an example of successful language revitalisation efforts and Fishman (2001) positions Catalonia at stage one of his *Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale* (see chapter two). However, language revitalisation in the Valencian Community is perceived less favourably. Vernet and Pons (2011: 66-67) comment that official language policy in the Valencian Community has been ambiguous and subject to neglect, and Pradilla Cardona (2011:

44) argues that Valencian government institutions have not taken their responsibility towards the language seriously, which has hindered revitalisation in the long run.

The disparity in terms of the success of language revitalisation may be due in part to the differing ideologies of the ruling parties in each region and their varying language attitudes. Greater language planning efforts have taken place in areas which have historically shown a strong sentiment of identity and nationalist ideology and these regions took advantage of the ambiguity resulting from the consensus of the Spanish Constitution (Mar-Molinero; 2000a: 100). For example, Crameri (2008) notes how *Convergència i Unió*, which was led by Jordi Pujol and governed Catalonia between 1980 and 2003, created policies with a strong theme of cultural and national identity. In fact, Guibernau (2004: 79) comments that the Catalan Statute of Autonomy (1979) refers to territory, history, language, culture and a shared future project, components which she identifies as emotional arguments in Catalan nationalism discourse. The Catalan Statute of Autonomy was revised in 2006 and article 6.2 declares Catalan as the official language of Catalonia, along with Castilian, the language of the State. Furthermore, it states that citizens of Catalonia have the right to use both official languages and the right and duty to know them (Parlament de Catalunya, 2012). Previously, knowing Catalan and Castilian was simply a right, as it continues to be the case in the Valencian Community and the Balearic Islands. However, the wish to declare Catalan as the preferred language of Catalonia was declared unconstitutional in 2010 (Parlament de Catalunya, 2012). The regional variation in terms of linguistic and political involvement is discussed in greater detail in chapter five, taking the role of minority language broadcasting in Catalonia and the Valencian Community as a case study.

### 3.3.2 Valencian in the Valencian Community

Language legislation and efforts to revitalise Valencian in the democratic era have been subject to criticism in academic literature (Strubell & Boix-Fuster, 2011), particularly when compared with neighbouring Catalonia, where greater emphasis has been placed on efforts to revitalise Catalan in the region (Pradilla Cardona, 2011: 47). As is examined in chapter five, official language legislation, and its absence or lack of success, have implications for questions of identity and the composition of



linguistic repertoires, and therefore language policy. As will become apparent, the implementation of acquisition planning (Cooper, 1989) which is considered to be a successful aspect of language planning in the Valencian context (Blas Arroyo, 2002: 323), has not necessarily contributed to successful status planning (Cooper, 1989). The current sociolinguistic setting coincides with Darquennes (2007), whose critique of Strubell (2001), suggests that the Catherine Wheel model of language revitalisation is an ideal and that language acquisition does not necessarily lead to increased social use.

Vernet and Pons (2011: 67) state that in the Valencian Community, Valencian has suffered from 'institutional neglect'. Although initially led by a socialist government (1983-1995) who implemented early language legislation, such as the *Llei d'ús i Ensenyament del Valencià* in 1983, the Valencian government was led by conservative governments between 1995 and 2015 and during this period less attention was afforded to language revitalisation. In June 2015, following twenty years of conservative rule, the Valencian Community elected a socialist coalition government. Recent months have seen greater discussion about the Valencian language, and perhaps current circumstances will lead to developments for language policy in the near future. However, despite political inconsistency and less favourable conditions for language revitalisation than in Catalonia, the Valencian Community does have two main pieces of language legislation, which were implemented during the transition to democracy. The Valencian Statute of Autonomy (1982), which was later revised in 2006, outlines the minimum provision for language use and this was followed by the *Llei d'Ús i Ensenyament del Valencià* (1983), which details the implementation of Valencian in the public spheres of administration, schools and the media. Blas Arroyo (2002: 323) observes that the law places particular emphasis on the implementation of Valencian in schools and pupils should leave compulsory education with a similar level of mastery in both official languages. Whilst other aspects of language intervention in the Valencian Community have faced criticism, acquisition planning (Cooper, 1989) in the education system is regarded as an area where language measures have been more successful (Blas Arroyo, 2002: 323).

Until subsequent education reforms were introduced in 1990, there were three pathways of Valencian teaching available to schools. Schools selected a programme according to the linguistic background and needs of their pupils and also the geographic location of the school in either an area of Castilian or Valencian predominance (see Blas Arroyo (2002: 324-325) for more detailed information). However, reforms were soon made when it became apparent that pupils following monolingual programmes, where Valencian was simply an additional compulsory school subject, rather than a language of instruction, were not achieving a sufficient level of competence in the language. This problem particularly affected pupils growing up in predominately Castilian-speaking areas speaking Castilian at home. A further problem was a lack of teachers who had been retrained to teach the language. The reforms sought to resolve these issues and to provide an education system that reflected the complex sociolinguistic setting in the Valencian Community, although Blas Arroyo (2002: 325) notes that the problems persist to an extent. Following the reforms, today there are four bilingual education programmes available to primary schools located in areas which are classed as being of Valencian predominance. In areas of Castilian predominance, education is monolingual in Castilian, with Valencian taught as an additional compulsory school subject. Meanwhile, secondary schools have two education programmes available to them, which schools select according to the linguistic requirements of their pupils. The *Programa d'Ensenyament en Valencià* (The Teaching in Valencian Programme) aims to offer the teaching of all subjects, except Castilian language and literature, in Valencian and the *Programa d'Incorporació Progressiva* (The Programme of Progressive Incorporation [of Valencian]) provides the majority of teaching in Castilian, with a number of subjects taught in Valencian. Blas Arroyo (2002: 325-327) provides a more detailed examination of the education pathways.

It should also be noted that the early socialist government also produced a number of linguistic campaigns in the 1980s and 1990s, although these are considered to be less ambitious than those carried out in Catalonia (see Boix-Fuster et al., 2011). Additionally, there are a number of grass-roots cultural associations, such as *Escola Valenciana* and *Acció Cultural País Valencià*, which organise cultural

events and work to promote Valencian. *Escola Valenciana* is a federation combining 29 local associations, including *La Cívica* in Alicante, which aims to encourage the normalisation of Valencian. *Acció Cultural País Valencià* has been particularly involved in campaigns for media provision in Valencian, discussed further in chapter five.

However, the existence of official measures, such as the Valencian Statute of Autonomy or the *Llei d'Ús i Ensenyament del Valencià*, does not guarantee their successful implementation (Spolsky, 2004). Furthermore, as is examined further in the next section, there is concern that increased knowledge of Valencian has not resulted in increased social use (Casesnoves Ferrer & Sankoff, 2004). However, changes to the education system have resulted in some change, and as is discussed shortly, statistics indicate that knowledge of Valencian, especially in terms of literacy, has increased significantly in recent years. Yet, whilst Valencian knowledge in Alicante has increased, it continues to lag behind the provinces of Valencia and Castellón. As such, local circumstances must be considered in order to gain a full understanding of language policy and to appreciate how factors at this level interact to contribute to the complex sociolinguistic setting in Alicante.

### 3.3.3 Analysis of Previous Surveys

This section analyses a number of surveys conducted to gather statistics about the evolution of knowledge and use of Valencian since the transition to democracy. Here, reference is made to the sociolinguistic setting in the respective *comarques* (counties) of Sant Vicent del Raspeig (L'Alacantí) and La Vila Joiosa (La Marina Baixa). Comparisons with the province of Alicante and the Valencian Community as a whole are also made.

The following discussion enables data collected in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa (see chapter four for a discussion of the research sites) to be interpreted fully and to be positioned in the wider sociolinguistic context (Spolsky, 2004). Adopting a wider view also coincides with the language ecology approach discussed in chapter two and enables current language policy to be interpreted and understood according to the particular sociolinguistic setting. Discussing the Basque

context, Urla observes that ‘quantification, like standardization, has been perceived as an indispensable tool for the Basque language’ (2012: 110). However, it should be noted that drawing upon numerical data collected through sociolinguistic surveys can also present problems, since numbers can be used to persuade and also to make language an object of planning (Urla, 2012: 111). Additionally, quantifying language suggests division and categorisation, which does not reflect the complexity and fluidity of language.

In 2015, the *Generalitat Valenciana* published a document which compiled survey data on Valencian knowledge sourced from the *Padró Municipal* (1986) and the recent censuses (1991, 2001; 2011). These statistics illustrate how knowledge of Valencian in the Valencian Community has progressed over a 25 year period at *comarca* level. The publication of this material in 2015 followed sociolinguistic surveys commissioned and published by the *Generalitat Valenciana* (2005; 2010) and carried out by the *Servei d’Investigació i Estudis Sociolingüístics* (SIES). These were specially conducted linguistic surveys about language knowledge and use, rather than the previous general census collection, and a sample of 6,666 respondents across the whole Valencian Community were consulted. For the purpose of data collection and analysis, the autonomous community was divided into linguistic regions, and the *comarques* of La Marina Baixa and L’Alacantí both form part of the Regió d’Alacant, which are discussed later in this chapter. It should be noted that these linguistic regions, as organised by the researchers, do not coincide with provincial boundaries.

The statistics collected in 2005 and 2010 were used as a basis for the design of this project’s methodology, discussed in chapter four, and they provide an understanding of the sociolinguistic setting. When consulting these statistics, it is necessary to bear in mind that the survey figures are derived from respondents’ self-evaluation of their Valencian knowledge. There are difficulties associated with such a subjective assessment as some respondents may overstate their knowledge, whilst others may understate. Equally, perceptions of competency vary from one individual to the next. The 2015 publication only became available once fieldwork had been

completed. However, this later document is discussed in this chapter in order to provide an additional layer of analysis at *comarca* level.

As highlighted in the introductory chapter of the thesis, the province of Alicante reports lower levels of Valencian knowledge than the provinces of Castellón and Valencia. The 2015 publication enables an additional layer of analysis by comparing Valencian knowledge across *comarques* (see Figure 7). Figure 7 compares data for the *comarca* of La Marina Baixa, where La Vila Joiosa is located, and L'Alacantí, where Sant Vicent del Raspeig is situated. Figures for the Valencian Community as a whole, and the province of Alicante, of which they form part, are also included so that comparisons at a number of levels can be made. In general, across the linguistic competencies, the two *comarques* have slightly higher levels of competency than the province of Alicante, but lower levels than the Valencian Community as a whole. The statistics gathered in Sant Vicent del Raspeig in 2011 are higher than the average for Alicante province. Figures for Valencian competency for the town of Sant Vicent del Raspeig, part of L'Alacantí, are only available for 2011, and no such figures are available for La Vila Joiosa.

Figure 7: Knowledge of Valencian 1986 – 2011 (Adapted from Generalitat Valenciana, 2015)

	1986	1991	2001	2011
<b>Can understand spoken Valencian %</b>				
Valencian Community	77.12	83.24	86.36	84.78
Province of Alicante	60.61	70.43	75.45	73.32
La Marina Baixa	72.92	79.22	79.54	76.11
L'Alacantí	60.12	74.50	81.08	80.06
Sant Vicent del Raspeig	-	-	-	85.26
<b>Can speak Valencian %</b>				
Valencian Community	46.49	51.09	48.88	51.18
Province of Alicante	36.48	38.14	36.16	37.85
La Marina Baixa	48.64	47.09	41.07	41.57
L'Alacantí	26.19	29.72	31.10	36.78
Sant Vicent del Raspeig	-	-	-	44.7

Can read Valencian %				
Valencian Community	24.36	37.98	47.24	58.35
Province of Alicante	13.08	23.87	32.19	45.61
La Marina Baixa	17.67	29.35	35.89	46.78
L'Alacantí	11.65	24.37	33.79	49.21
Sant Vicent del Raspeig	-	-	-	55.37
Can write Valencian %				
Valencian Community	7.03	15.17	24.07	31.77
Province of Alicante	4.37	10.25	17.16	23.82
La Marina Baixa	7.55	13.85	21.07	26.86
L'Alacantí	3.42	8.71	16.22	24.67
Sant Vicent del Raspeig	-	-	-	31.02

Looking at the data more closely and considering each linguistic competency in turn reveals the complexity of the sociolinguistic situation. Overall, in the *comarques* of La Marina Baixa and L'Alacantí, the percentage of respondents claiming to understand spoken Valencian has increased between 1986 and 2011. However, between 2001 and 2011, the statistics report a slight decrease in the percentage of respondents reporting oral comprehension of Valencian across both *comarques*. Over the twenty-five year period, a greater increase in knowledge of spoken Valencian has been seen in L'Alacantí. In 2011, L'Alacantí reported a higher level of oral comprehension than La Marina Baixa, despite in 1986 having reported lower knowledge. Overall, the percentage of respondents reporting to know how to speak Valencian has fallen in La Marina Baixa, whereas in L'Alacantí the number rose between 1986 and 2011. In terms of literacy, reading competency has increased across the two *comarques* between 1986 and 2011. This improvement perhaps reflects changes to the education system and the presence of Valencian on the school curriculum (see Blas Arroyo, 2002). In 2011, the percentage of respondents able to read in Valencian was higher in L'Alacantí than in La Marina Baixa, despite the initial 1986 reading figure being higher in the latter *comarca*. The most recent statistics from 2011 indicate that in both *comarques* reading competency is higher than spoken competency. This suggests that competency in non-traditional passive

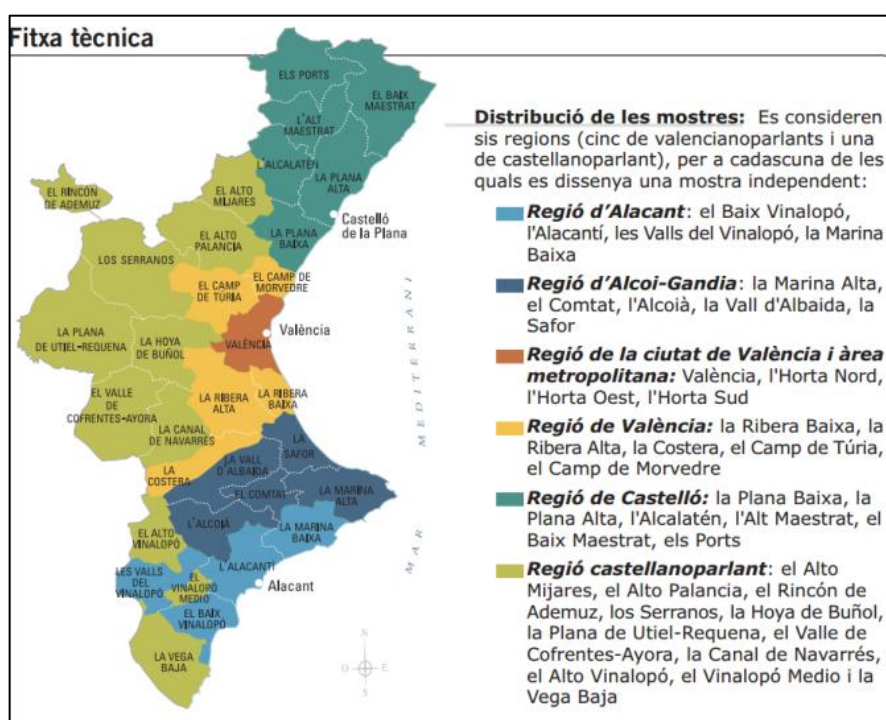
linguistic skills, such as reading, in Valencian has increased considerably whilst competency in traditional active skills, such as speaking, has not developed as much. This trend may be due to the presence of Valencian in new domains, especially education, and the continued dominance of Castilian in domains previously associated with Valencian such as the home, where traditionally Valencian was present as a spoken language only (see Berruto, 1989). Across both *comarques* reported writing competency has increased between 1986 and 2011. As with reading skills, this increase coincides with the introduction of Valencian as a school subject following the implementation of the *Llei d'Ús i Ensenyament del Valencià* in 1983, which was created with the aim of encouraging and regulating the presence of Valencian in public spheres. Yet, whilst competency in writing has steadily improved, this skill has the lowest levels of competency compared to the other linguistic skills.

These statistics (Generalitat Valenciana, 2015) provide an overview of how Valencian knowledge has evolved during a twenty-five year period. Overall, it can be said that levels of Valencian competency have increased since the transition to democracy and its establishment as a co-official language alongside Castilian. Of particular note is that skills associated with literacy, a non-traditional domain for Valencian, have seen the greatest gains. However, literacy skills still fall behind oral competency in Valencian which suggests that language dominance is complex and that linguistic repertoires are unbalanced (Blommaert & Backus, 2012; Pavlenko, 2006: 8). The time of one's education and the repercussions for the composition of linguistic repertoires is explored further in chapter five. However, whilst these statistics highlight potential trends in the development of Valencian competency, their use does have limitations. Although figures for Valencian knowledge in Sant Vicent del Raspeig in 2011 are available, this information does not exist for La Vila Joiosa, and as such, it is not possible to compare the evolution of Valencian knowledge between the two towns. Furthermore, there is no information about the degree of competency, the statistics simply state the number of people who are able to understand, speak, read and write in Valencian. Such statements are subjective, and as such, open to interpretation by respondents. Additionally, these statistics were only compiled in 2015, once fieldwork data had been organised and conducted.

Thus, whilst they provide a useful additional layer of data, they did not inform the methodology directly.

In 2005 and 2010, the *Generalitat* Valenciana commissioned sociolinguistic surveys to be conducted across the Valencian Community. Surveys were carried out in areas of Castilian and Valencian predominance to collect data about language knowledge and social use of Valencian. The autonomous community was organised into linguistic regions to gather and analyse data (see Figure 8). Dividing the region in this way means that the lowest degree of analysis occurs at the level of linguistic region, rather than *comarques*, as with the census data.

Figure 8: Distribution of linguistic regions (Generalitat Valenciana, 2005; 2010)



However, as will now be discussed, in other aspects, the 2005 and 2010 surveys contain additional layers of detail. In terms of Valencian knowledge, respondents were asked to self-evaluate the degree of their knowledge (see Figure 9). Positioning the 2015 compilation of census data alongside the sociolinguistic surveys of 2005 and 2010 allows a comprehensive understanding of the current sociolinguistic setting and its development. Thus, the data collected as part of this thesis may be interpreted in light of the development of the wider sociolinguistic setting in order to gain a



comprehensive understanding of present, and potentially future, language policy (Spolsky, 2004; Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015: 293).

Figure 9: Knowledge of Valencian in the linguistic region of Alicante (adapted from Generalitat Valenciana, 2005; 2010)

	2005	2010
<b>Can understand spoken Valencian %</b>		
Nothing	9.0	6.5
A little	29.2	34.1
Quite well	33.2	32.9
Perfectly	28.5	26.6
Did not know/answer	0.1	-
<b>Can speak Valencian %</b>		
Nothing	22.7	31.1
A little	36.4	33.8
Quite well	22.1	20.2
Perfectly	18.3	15.0
Did not know/answer	0.5	-
<b>Can read Valencian %</b>		
Nothing	21.4	15.9
A little	36.6	52.2
Quite well	26.7	20.4
Perfectly	14.9	11.4
Did not know/answer	0.4	-
<b>Can write Valencian %</b>		
Nothing	44.9	59.9
A little	30.2	25.0
Quite well	16.8	8.4
Perfectly	7.6	6.7
Did not know/answer	0.4	-

Data reveal that in the linguistic region of Alicante, individuals' Valencian competency, or perceived competency, of Valencian is low. As is explored further in chapter five, this may suggest linguistic insecurity as gradually more speakers are exposed to the standard language variety and the associated ideologies through formal education. O'Rourke & Ramallo (2013: 293) observe similar sentiments in the Galician context. Milroy (2001: 2007) notes that a consequence of standardisation and acquisition planning is that the notion of 'correctness' develops amongst

speakers. Such a belief is applied by society, rather than being rooted in the language itself. However, this ideology has implications for language policy, since speakers' beliefs about their own language variety are influenced by an awareness of the standard (see Milroy, 2001; 2007).

In 2010, 'a little' was the most common response when people were asked if they understand, speak, and read, Valencian. In terms of writing, the most frequent response was 'nothing'. The data indicate that skills associated with literacy (reading and writing) are lower than those associated with oral competencies (understanding and speaking). This coincides with the previous circumstances that members of the population experienced, when the education system was monolingual in Castilian and pupils had no formal opportunity to acquire literacy in Valencian. Comparing statistics collected in 2005 and 2010 does not reveal trends at this stage; however, repeating this survey at regular intervals would be valuable in terms of providing an overview of the evolution of the knowledge of Valencian.

Comparing the linguistic regions, data indicate that Valencian competency in the region of Alicante is lower than in the other linguistic regions (see Figure 10).

Figure 10: Percentage of respondents who report competency of 'quite well' or 'perfect' (adapted from Generalitat Valenciana, 2005; 2010)

	2005	2010
<b>Can understand spoken Valencian quite well or perfectly %</b>		
Regió d'Alacant	61.7	59.5
Regió d'Alcoi-Gandia	91.4	85.2
Ciutat de València i àrea metropolitana	75.7	73.4
Regió de València	92.8	89.2
Regió de Castelló	88.5	80.5
<b>Can speak Valencian quite well or perfectly %</b>		
Regió d'Alacant	40.4	35.2
Regió d'Alcoi-Gandia	81.9	73.6
Ciutat de València i àrea metropolitana	47.8	49.4
Regió de València	80.2	77.5
Regió de Castelló	70.4	61.7
<b>Can read Valencian quite well or perfectly %</b>		
Regió d'Alacant	41.6	31.8
Regió d'Alcoi-Gandia	67.6	60.2
Ciutat de València i àrea metropolitana	50.7	50.5
Regió de València	68.8	64.6
Regió de Castelló	64.7	58.7
<b>Can write Valencian quite well or perfectly %</b>		
Regió d'Alacant	24.4	15.1
Regió d'Alcoi-Gandia	44.2	37.8
Ciutat de València i àrea metropolitana	27.9	29.8
Regió de València	45.0	43.8
Regió de Castelló	36.0	34.5

These figures coincide with the statistics that indicate that levels of Valencian competency in the province of Alicante are lower than in the provinces of Castellón and Valencia. Furthermore, the statistics show that generally self-evaluated Valencian competency has fallen between 2005 and 2010. This may be due to a number of reasons, and it must be remembered that self-evaluation presents problems since it is subjective and not all individuals perceive their competence in the same way. However, it is important that large-scale surveys such as this continue to be undertaken at regular intervals to monitor language maintenance efforts. Those involved with language revitalisation will be keen to understand whether gains in Valencian competence are coming undone or whether respondents are becoming

more critical of their own competency as gradually more people are exposed to the standard variety of Valencian through formal education.

In addition to providing detail about the extent of respondents' Valencian competency, the 2005 and 2010 surveys include data about the social use of Valencian. Respondents were asked to explain which language they use, and how often, in different contexts and social spaces. Reference is also made to these statistics in chapter five. Overall, it can be said that knowledge of Valencian has improved in the period between 1986 and 2011 (see Figure 7); yet, data from 2010 suggest that increased knowledge of Valencian does not necessary result in increased social use of the language, where Castilian continues to dominate (see Figures 11 and 12). This is discussed below in brief and the reasons behind this variation are examined further in relation to the discussion of fieldwork data later in the thesis.

Figure 11: Social use of Valencian and Castilian in the linguistic region of Alicante in 2010 (adapted from Generalitat Valenciana, 2010)

<b>Language spoken at home</b>	
Always Valencian	12.7%
Generally Valencian	1.1%
More Valencian than Castilian	1.4%
Either/interchangeably	3.2%
More Castilian than Valencian	2.2%
Generally Castilian	2.7%
Always Castilian	73.6%
Another language	3.2%
Did not answer/know	-
<b>Language spoken with friends</b>	
Always Valencian	3.6%
Generally Valencian	3.2%
More Valencian than Castilian	2.3%
Either/interchangeably	10.0%
More Castilian than Valencian	5.0%
Generally Castilian	6.5%
Always Castilian	67.4%
Another language	2.2%
Did not answer/know	-

In the region of Alicante, 35.2% of respondents reported that they can speak Valencian quite well or perfectly, yet just 12.7% state that they always use the language at home. Instead, the dominant language in this environment is Castilian, which 73.6% of respondents state that they always use at home. However, whilst the number of people who always use Valencian in this context is low, this domain is where the highest number of respondents report always using the language. The figures from 2010 perhaps reflect the traditional association between Valencian and the home and family, but also the shift to Castilian to domains previously linked with the minority language. Castilian is also the dominant language used with friends, but interestingly, 10.0% of respondents state that they use Valencian and Castilian interchangeably with friends, suggesting that speakers with access to more than one language switch between them according to the interlocutor. Similarly, 31.8% state that they can read in Valencian ‘quite well or perfectly’ and 15.1% of respondents can write; yet, 19.4% of respondents always use the language in email and 16.1% of respondents use both languages interchangeably (see Figure 12). The notion of hybridised uses of Valencian in new domains such as the internet is discussed further in chapter five.

Figure 12: Use of Valencian online in the linguistic region of Alicante in 2010 (adapted from Generalitat Valenciana, 2010)

Language used on internet homepage	Region of Alicante
Does not use the internet	3.2%
Always Valencian	12.9%
Generally Valencian	-
More Valencian than Castilian	-
Either/interchangeably	3.2%
More Castilian than Valencian	16.1%
Generally Castilian	16.1%
Always Castilian	45.2%
Another language	3.3%
Did not answer/know	-

Language used for emails	Region of Alicante
Does not use email	6.5%
Always Valencian	19.4%
Generally Valencian	6.5%
More Valencian than Castilian	-
Either/interchangeably	16.1%
More Castilian than Valencian	19.4%
Generally Castilian	9.7%
Always Castilian	22.6%
Another language	-
Did not answer/know	-
Language used on social networks: forums, blogs, chatrooms...	Region of Alicante
Does not use them	6.5%
Always Valencian	9.7%
Generally Valencian	9.7%
More Valencian than Castilian	6.5%
Either/interchangeably	29.0%
More Castilian than Valencian	16.1%
Generally Castilian	6.5%
Always Castilian	12.9%
Another language	-
Did not answer/know	3.2%

This data may suggest that Valencian occupies a position in domains, such as the internet, which one might expect to be associated with Castilian, the traditional language of literacy. Depau and Ghimenton (2009) identify the internet as a valuable space for minority languages since effective and up-to-date measures are needed to encourage their use in modern society. They suggest that the future of Sardinian is not only based upon prestige derived from its literary and historical heritage but also on the existence of multiple registers which are appropriate to different contexts, such as the internet. Similarly, summarising the campaign to gain the top-level domain name ‘.cat’ for the Catalan linguistic and cultural community, which was achieved in 2005, Gerrand (2006) describes how the presence of Catalan online is important for identity, visibility and cultural aggregation. Additionally, whilst he acknowledges that it is difficult to quantify language use online, he states that Catalan is the 23<sup>rd</sup> most used language on the internet with 681 thousand pages in

Catalan, whilst English is the most used language with 442 million pages (Gerrand, 2006: 6).

The extension of both languages to new contexts, Castilian in the home and Valencian online, may imply that a review of *dilalia* is required (see Berruto, 1989a; 1989b). Informed by existing survey statistics and drawing upon their style of questioning (Generalitat Valenciana, 2005; 2010), it was decided to explore this variation in language use in different domains further in this project. For example, respondents in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa were asked to choose the option that best described their language practices in certain domains and elaborate upon their answers to provide additional qualitative data about their language use. The various methodological and theoretical perspectives incorporated into the methodology are discussed in the next chapter.

The surveys discussed in this section were conducted on a large-scale by a team of survey administrators. This resulted in data from a high number of respondents being gathered across an extended geographical area in a relatively small space of time. The 2005 survey was conducted between June and July, and the 2010 survey between May and June. This approach enabled a general assessment of language policy at one time across the whole Valencian Community. Examining these large-scale surveys alongside each other illustrates the evolution of Valencian knowledge over a 25 year period, and the progress made in terms of literacy in Valencian. However, the previous surveys present certain limitations as they do not consider language policy at a local level and the variety of factors which interact at multiple levels to influence language policy (Spolsky, 2004; Shohamy, 2006). Moreover, the statistics represent quantitative data only and whilst these figures provide useful information about language practices and linguistic competency at the time, the statistics alone do not explain the reasons for the sociolinguistic situation. Additionally, Urla (2012: 111) notes that such quantitative data does not necessarily reflect the actual sociolinguistic setting, since it is generalised and seeks to categorise language, rather than to interpret the complex nuances of language.

To overcome these gaps and to provide answers to explain why current language policy is as it is, this project provides a more localised assessment of the sociolinguistic situation by focusing on two towns in the province of Alicante: Sant Vicent del Raspeig in the *comarca* of L'Alacantí and La Vila Joiosa in the *comarca* of La Marina Baixa. The selection of these two towns enables the data collected and analysed in this thesis to be positioned in reference to existing data (Creese, 2010). Additionally, quantitative and qualitative approaches to data collection and analysis are incorporated to enhance the interpretation of the complexities of language policy (Angouri, 2010). The various methodological and theoretical approaches, employed in the collection and analysis of data, are examined in the next chapter.

### 3.4 Concluding Remarks

This research project seeks to complement, and build upon existing data, to provide a local perspective of current language policy. In contrast to previous studies, this thesis focuses on language policy in Alicante, which is perceived as the most Castilianised province of the Valencian Community (Blas Arroyo, 2002). The background information given in this chapter helps to understand the wider context in which this research has been carried out, since a broad range of factors contribute to present day language policy in Alicante. Therefore, knowledge of the various political and linguistic debates, an understanding of relevant historical events, and an awareness of the Catalan speaking territories, all support an analysis of the data presented in later chapters and an assessment of language policy.



## Chapter 4 - Methodology Chapter

### 4.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to outline and justify the methodology chosen for this research project. A range of theoretical perspectives and methodological approaches are drawn upon in order to appreciate the complexity of language policy in Alicante and to assess the present sociolinguistic setting in depth (Creese, 2010, Tusting & Maybin, 2007). Unlike the surveys discussed in the previous chapter, which were carried out on behalf of the *Generalitat Valenciana* (2005; 2010) and provide a broad overview of the sociolinguistic setting across the Valencian Community, the methodology chosen for this project enables a detailed and local assessment of language policy in Alicante. It strikes an appropriate balance between the breadth and depth of the investigation and the time and resources available to a single researcher (Milroy & Gordon, 2003: 72). The approach adopted in this study also coincides with the broad view of language policy, positioned in the widest possible setting, advocated by contemporary scholars (Spolsky, 2004; Shohamy, 2006).

As is discussed in this chapter, the methodology was informed by an examination of the literature, an assessment of theoretical and practical considerations, and the completion and evaluation of a pilot study before the main data collection in 2014. The pilot study, which is discussed and evaluated later in this chapter, offered the opportunity to trial the questions, gain experience of making appointments to complete questionnaires, and to make any necessary adjustments before conducting the main study. Utilising existing contacts, it was conducted in two stages in 2013 in Liverpool and Dénia, a town in the province of Alicante.

In respect of language preferences and to allow respondents to feel at ease, respondents had the option to complete the questionnaire in Castilian or Valencian. As outlined in Appendix 4, of the fifty-three respondents included in the final data sample, twenty-two completed the questionnaire in Castilian and thirty-one answered in Valencian. The language chosen to answer the questionnaire also provided an additional layer of data analysis since it revealed valuable information about language beliefs. For example, respondent C4 (female, thirties, administrator) is a habitual speaker of Valencian at home, but she chose to answer the

questionnaire in Castilian as she is only comfortable in Valencian with family and close friends. In contrast, respondent C26 (male, 18-20, sixth form student) is a habitual speaker of Castilian but studies Valencian; he thought that completing the questionnaire in Valencian would be a good opportunity to use the language.

As mentioned in chapter one, in order to have the required level of Valencian to undertake this study, I enrolled on a Valencian course at the University of Alicante and attended a conversation group run by the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* in Alicante. Both the pilot study and the main fieldwork gained ethical approval from the University of Liverpool. Throughout the thesis, respondents are kept anonymous and are coded with a letter and number. The pilot study respondents in Liverpool are labelled 'A', and 'B' in Dénia. The respondents for the main study are known as 'C' in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and 'D' in La Vila Joiosa.

## 4.2 Data Collection

In 2014, a multiple-choice fieldwork questionnaire was designed and administered to fieldwork respondents (see Appendices 1,2,3 for copies of the questionnaire in Castilian, Valencian and English). Multiple-choice questions informed by those used in previous surveys (Generalitat Valenciana, 2005; 2015) were used to gain a comprehensive understanding of the sociolinguistic circumstances in the province of Alicante and the complexities of local language policy. This approach enables a local assessment of language policy and the data collected as part of this study can also be positioned in relation to existing studies (Creese, 2010: 140).

Fieldwork questionnaires were administered to respondents in person by the researcher. Assisted completion (Schleef, 2014: 52) enabled respondents to request clarification when required and provide extra details to explain their answers in greater depth when possible (Schilling, 2013: 67). This allowed valuable qualitative data to be collected, in addition to the quantitative data gathered through the multiple-choice questions. Collecting both quantitative and qualitative data provided an additional layer of analysis and a comprehensive understanding of local language policy (Angouri, 2010). The inclusion of qualitative data allows potential 'raw

diamonds' to emerge (Blommaert & Dong, 2010: 43), whilst quantitative data enables comparisons to be made according to sociolinguistic variables.

Throughout the process, respondents were encouraged to engage with the project, elaborate on their answers, and reflect upon language matters (Davis, 2014). Conversations held with respondents during data collection were recorded, transcribed and included in the analysis in chapter five. The researcher's presence also allowed additional responses and observations to be noted, and as is discussed later, this proved valuable on two occasions when the digital recordings failed. Thus, the presence of the researcher can facilitate data collection and improve the quality of data by addressing any doubts or questions and putting the respondent at ease. However, the researcher's presence can also present an obstacle and this was identified by Labov (1972) as the 'Observer's Paradox' (see Milroy & Gordon, 2003: 49). Once a subject knows that they are under observation, their answers may be affected. For example, in the presence of the researcher, the participant may give answers that they believe that the researcher wants to hear, rather than truthful responses. This is inevitable in participant observation, and therefore, the researcher must be aware of, and reflect upon, their own positionality and identity and how this may impact upon the research process and findings (Bourke, 2014).

The fieldwork questionnaire comprised three sections based upon the three components of language policy (language practices, language beliefs and language management) outlined by Spolsky (2004). The language practices section asked respondents to consider their language use, the section on language beliefs prompted discussion of language attitudes, and the third section, language management, guided respondents to share their views on efforts to manage the language. The multiple-choice questions were used to prompt further discussion and respondents were encouraged to provide justification for their responses. Themes that emerged from these discussions were highlighted and developed further during data analysis.

Dividing the questionnaire into thematic sections provided a logical structure and helped to guide conversation with the respondents as they answered the

multiple-choice questions (Hoffman, 2014: 34). Questions about similar themes and scenarios were grouped together and headings were used to indicate a change of topic to guide respondents through the questionnaire (Schleef, 2014: 50). For example, in terms of language practices, respondents were asked which language they use in certain contexts and situations. Questions about language use with certain acquaintances were grouped, such as language choice with various family members, as were discussions about language choice in terms of the consumption of different forms of media (see Appendices 1,2,3 for copies of the questionnaire). Asking a broad range of questions, corresponding with Spolsky's three components of language policy, prompted the discussion of various themes. Data analysis drew upon ethnographic methods; recording and transcribing discussions enabled the various themes that emerged from fieldwork discussions to be pursued further during data analysis (Blommaert & Dong, 2010; Canagarajah, 2006). As is discussed in chapter five, the section on language practices provided valuable data about individuals' relationships with their languages, and the composition of linguistic repertoires (Blommaert & Backus, 2012). Equally, the sections on language beliefs and language management revealed how identity debates are changing (Joseph, 2009), and the potential value of a linguistic citizenship approach (Stroud & Heugh, 2004) in the Valencian context.

Respondents were also asked to self-evaluate their competency in Valencian. As is discussed in the next chapter, respondent's comments about their linguistic competency revealed that complex issues surrounding linguistic security, legitimacy, and authority (see Milroy, 2001; 2007; O'Rourke & Ramallo, 2013) contribute to current language policy. Schleef comments that early questionnaire items should be 'factual and undemanding' (2014: 50), and in this way, the first section of the questionnaire asked for information about the respondents' backgrounds based upon sociolinguistic variables such as age, occupation, education, and also their linguistic family history and mobility were collected (see Appendix 4 for an overview of the respondents and Appendix 5 for a detailed list of respondents and their social characteristics). The inclusion of such details provides a context in which to interpret comments made by respondents, thus, enabling an additional layer of data analysis

(Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015: 292-293). As discussed in chapter two, this approach coincides with McCarty (2011), who observes that language policy operates within a local setting, which must be understood in order to interpret data fully. Equally, this made it possible to categorise data according to sociolinguistic variables when pursuing emerging trends. To allow answers to be analysed and categorised according to sociolinguistic variables, respondents were asked to select the answer that best described their experiences.

Drawing upon ethnographic approaches to data collection and analysis (Blommaert & Dong, 2010; Canagarajah, 2006), the questionnaire was administered to fieldwork respondents in the towns of Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa (discussed later in this chapter) over a four month period. Since the two towns are located in two *comarques*, L'Alacantí and La Marina Baixa respectively, a local view of language policy is gained, which can be positioned in the wider context of the Valencian Community. Spending an extended period in the field enabled an awareness of the wider community to be acquired so that comments made by fieldwork respondents can be interpreted with reference to the broader sociolinguistic setting (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015: 293). Equally, it was possible to observe language within its environment (Mühlhäusler, 2001, Hornberger, 2002), which further contributed to the local perspective offered by this study. For example, respondent C7 (female, fifties, shopkeeper) was observed serving customers and switching between Castilian and Valencian according to the preferences of her interlocutor.

Using existing contacts, a judgement sample of respondents was selected to reflect the demographics of the local population and to meet the sociolinguistic criteria of the study (Hoffman, 2014: 31). The majority were non-specialists; however, questionnaires were also conducted with respondents with a greater awareness of language issues, such as respondent C2 (male, thirties, Valencian teacher) and respondent C20 (female, forties, Valencian tutor and author) in order to acquire a fuller and balanced understanding of the sociolinguistic situation. The questionnaire sought to assess what people do with their languages, their feelings towards them, and their attitudes towards language management. Whilst folk

linguistics has faced criticism for romanticising marginalised groups and focussing on ‘inexpert knowledge’, this approach is valuable as it enables language beliefs and ingrained ideologies held by the speech community to be revealed (Albury, 2014: 89; Preston, 2011: 15). For example, the concepts of *educació* and *gent del poble* were frequently mentioned during the administration of questionnaires. As is discussed in chapter five, this revealed internalised language beliefs and how they continue to influence language policy.

Having established an initial network of contacts in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa, respondents from both towns were recruited using the ‘friend of a friend’ technique (Milroy & Gordon, 2003:32). Using a trusted contact to locate participants makes it possible to match participants to certain sociolinguistic variables such as age, gender and class. This technique also enables potential participants to be introduced to the researcher in a friendly and relaxed environment, and consequently, they are usually more likely to agree to participate if they are asked to help out a friend. The ‘friend of a friend’ method can be developed further with the ‘snowball’ method (Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 32), which sees people who have already participated in the study asking their acquaintances to take part. This approach was employed on several occasions during the fieldwork process and enabled additional social networks to be explored. This technique saves time for the researcher as participants are located by other respondents and new participants are likely to want to take part if the study is recommended to them.

However, with these techniques, the researcher is dependent on others, which is often the case if the researcher is an outsider. As such, the researcher must exercise judgement to ensure that the proposed participants are representative of the wider population and have not simply been recommended because they have a particular interest in the research area. It should be noted that being an outsider brings both advantages and limitations. On the one hand, an outsider is in a position to provide a unique perspective on the linguistic situation since they are unlikely to have certain prejudices held by a local investigator and they also have the advantage of innocence (Blommaert & Dong, 2010: 27). For example, Frekko (2009) spent a year enrolled in a Catalan class in Barcelona acting as a pupil and observer and her

outsider status afforded her greater liberty to ask questions and acquire data that a local researcher could not. She was able to draw upon the innocence of the outsider to ask her respondents about the 'best' Catalan, which revealed valuable information about language beliefs and attitudes towards linguistic authenticity and legitimacy (Frekko, 2009: 173). On the other hand, outsiders may find it difficult to gain the trust of participants initially, and consequently, researchers in such circumstances cannot expect to obtain data immediately. Additionally, researchers must ensure that they remain objective; informants may misunderstand their role and expect them to promote the language or community being studied. Another potential issue is that groups of relatives or friends tend to belong to a similar social group, which would restrict data to one social network (see Milroy, 1987). However, collecting data from different generations of a family does enable an intergenerational perspective of the development language policy. For example, respondents C7 (female, fifties, shopkeeper) and C8 (male, twenties, shop assistant) are mother and son, and respondents D10 (female, twenties, postgraduate student) and D11 (female, forties, housewife) are daughter and mother. As is discussed in greater detail in chapter five, in both cases, data revealed how the educational background of respondents, due to the political system that they experienced growing up, had influenced the composition of their linguistic repertoire.

In addition to the twelve questionnaires administered during the pilot study, fifty three questionnaires were administered during the main period of data collection (January to May 2014). On two occasion's fieldwork discussions failed to record; however, in both cases, notes were taken immediately after the event to record details of interest, which is an advantage of administering questionnaires in person (Schilling, 2013: 67). For example, respondent C32 (female, forties, nurse) became emotional when discussing language use with her family, which suggests the emotional value of language (Pavlenko, 2006). Whilst the qualitative data from respondents C32 and D17 (female, forties, student) was lost, the quantitative data gathered from the written questionnaires from these two respondents is still included in the analysis. The pilot study questionnaires are not included in the data analysis due to some questions being amended slightly. However, comments from

this earlier study are included occasionally if they coincide with the main data findings.

### 4.3 Reflections on the Pilot Study

Before undertaking the main fieldwork, it was important to test out the questionnaire before collecting data on a larger scale for an extended period of time. The pilot study provided an opportunity to evaluate the questions and analyse the types of answers that they prompted. The nature of the questions proved valuable in acquiring an initial understanding of language policy and eliciting further comments and observations from participants. Although a small study, it allowed potential trends to emerge, such as the complexity of linguistic repertoires, which were followed up with additional reading before carrying out the main study. Equally, the pilot study was a useful chance to identify and overcome practical problems before embarking on the main fieldwork. Conducting a pilot study was also an opportunity to strengthen the network of initial contacts in Alicante.

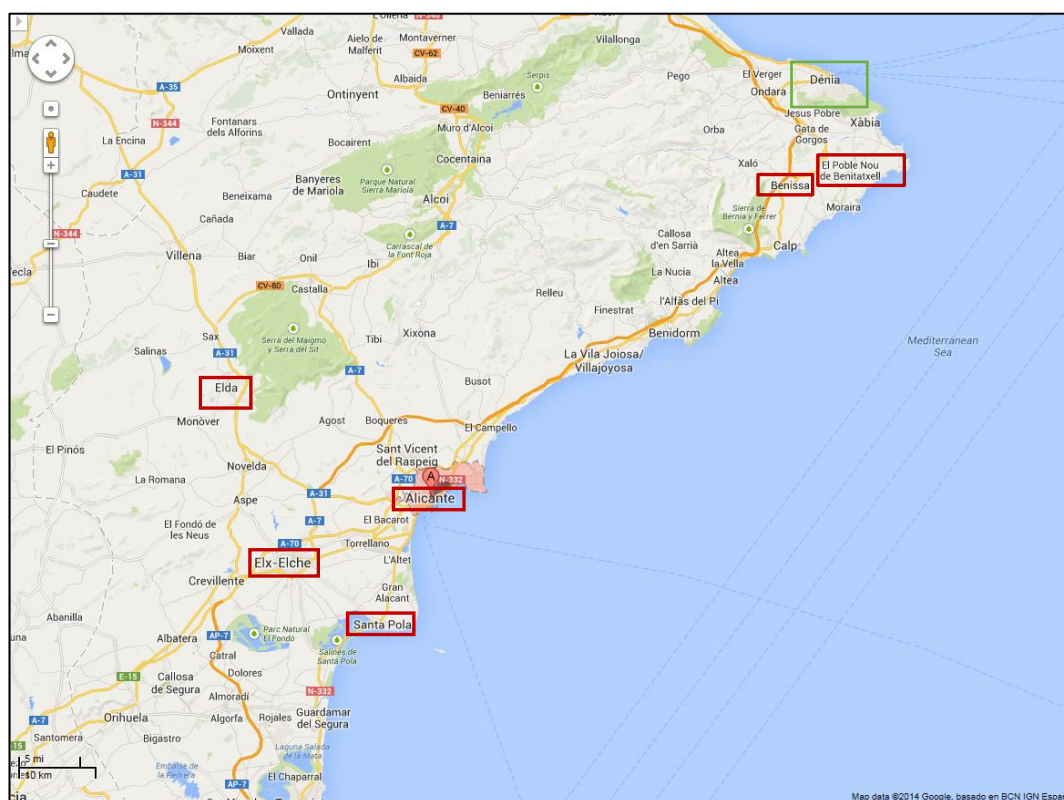
The pilot study was undertaken in 2013 in two stages: the first in May 2013 and the second in October 2013. In May 2013, six questionnaires were completed with students from the University of Alicante (five females and one male) who spent a semester at the University of Liverpool. These participants are coded as respondents A1-A6. A benefit of using this network of contacts was that it provided the opportunity to trial the questionnaire without incurring travel costs. It also provided a snapshot of views on language policy across six different towns: Santa Pola; Benitachell; Benissa; Elche; Elda; Alicante city (see Figure 13). The experiences of the six students demonstrated that Alicante is a linguistically diverse province. This further confirmed the decision to assess language policy across two sites in order to provide a localised view of the current linguistic situation. Whilst the six questionnaires completed in May 2013 were useful to an extent, they did present some limitations. For example, all six participants were of a similar age and had a similar level of education (they were all studying modern foreign languages at the University of Alicante). However, since the principal objective at this stage was simply to test out the style of questions, this did not pose a problem.



In October 2013, using existing contacts, the second stage of the pilot study was carried out in Dénia. These respondents are coded as B1-B6. During this week-long trip (divided between Dénia and Sant Vicent del Raspeig) the intention was to administer questionnaires to participants in both towns. However, due to time constraints and a public holiday, this was not possible and data was only collected in Dénia.

Figure 13: Map showing fieldwork sites for pilot study

(Locations of participants A1-A6 are highlighted in red, participants B1-B6 in green)



Dénia was chosen as previous visits suggested that Valencian is widely spoken there, which contrasts with impressions of language policy in towns closer to Alicante (city) such as Sant Vicent del Raspeig. Taking advantage of existing contacts in the town, the ‘friend of a friend’ technique was employed to identify and select research participants. Recruiting participants in this way worked well and enabled respondents to be introduced in a friendly setting. Consequently, they felt relaxed and were willing to answer the questionnaire and further elaborate on their answers.

The fieldwork in Dénia offered the opportunity to administer the questionnaire to participants of different ages. The six participants (three females and three males) were aged from 22 to 86 years old. However, as with the previous stage of the pilot study, there were limitations to the sample. The six respondents were all from the one social network, a family, and as such, they would perhaps give similar answers about language policy. However, administering questionnaires to three generations of one family did allow the opportunity to consider how attitudes and practices evolve from one generation to the next. For example respondent B1 (female, twenties, student), the youngest member of the social network, was the only one who had been exposed to Valencian through formal education, as well as in the home environment. Consequently, within one family, the composition of linguistic repertoires varied due to diverse language learning trajectories (Blommaert & Backus, 2012). This additional linguistic experience had implications in terms of her language dominance and her awareness of linguistic authority and authenticity. Identifying these themes at an early stage meant that they could also be considered during the main study.

The pilot study also presented a chance to identify practical problems and implement solutions before embarking on the main fieldwork. The importance of using assisted completion (Schleef, 2014: 52) to administer the questionnaire, rather than allowing participants to fill it out themselves, became clear during the first stage of the pilot study. In Liverpool, participants read though the questions and ticked the various boxes themselves and were asked to explain their answers as they went along. However, the success of this approach depended on the speed in which the participant completed the questionnaire and whether the participant was willing to elaborate upon their answers for the recording.

For the second phase of the pilot study in Dénia, the questionnaire was administered by the researcher, who read the questions aloud after giving a copy of the questionnaire to the respondents. This approach proved successful and enabled the pace of the questions and discussion to be controlled. As such, it was possible to work through the questionnaire at a speed that allowed participants to explain their answers and add their own comments and observations. For example, respondent

B4 (male, fifties, manager) accompanied an answer with an anecdote from that morning's shop in the supermarket, to demonstrate how Castilian and Valencian work in a social context. When participants were less talkative, they were prompted when appropriate for further details.

When administering questionnaires in Dénia with participants of various ages, the complexity of language dominance and the composition of linguistic repertoires was revealed (Blommaert & Backus, 2012; Pavlenko, 2006). In Dénia, respondents B2 (female, fifties, looks after family) and B3 (female, fifties, looks after family) chose to answer the questionnaire in Valencian (now a spoken task) but opted to read and sign the accompanying information and consent forms in Castilian. This is because for those educated before the introduction of the *Llei d'Ús i Ensenyament del Valencià* in 1983, Castilian was the only permitted language at school, and consequently, it is often the only language in which they are literate. As discussed in chapter five, Barton & Hamilton (1998) consider the emotional implications of literacy in a language and the consequences for language beliefs. Consequently, due to the complications associated with Valencian and Castilian's roles as a spoken language and language of literacy respectively, during the main fieldwork, the option to read in one language and speak in another was given.

#### 4.4 The selection of Research Sites

Article 35.1 of the *Llei d'Ús i Ensenyament del Valencià* designates Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa as areas of Valencian predominance (Corts Valencianes, 1983). They are situated in the *comarques* of L'Alacantí and La Marina Baixa respectively, and as mentioned earlier, their inclusion in this study builds upon existing surveys (Generalitat Valenciana, 2005; 2010) to enable a more local view of language policy. Both towns have experienced considerable growth and outside influence in the last sixty years, which have consequences for current language policy (Spolsky, 2004). Statistics reveal how the population of both towns has increased significantly in the last century (see Figure 14).

Figure 14: Population of Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa (1900-2014)  
(adapted from La Diputación de Alicante, 2015a; 2015b)

Year	Sant Vicent del Raspeig	La Vila Joiosa
1900	4,041	8,902
1910	4,707	9,152
1920	4,400	9,192
1930	4,978	8,715
1940	6,493	9,412
1950	7,047	9,315
1960	8,951	11,006
1970	16,518	16,258
1981	23,569	20,638
1991	30,119	23,160
2000	37,883	23,704
2005	46,034	27,983
2010	54,088	34,344
2014	55,946	33,951

In 2014, the population of Sant Vicent del Raspeig stood at 55,946, which means that the number of residents has increased over seven-fold since 1950. La Vila Joiosa had 33,951 inhabitants in 2014, which again represents considerable growth since 1950, when the population stood at 9,315. This section provides background information on Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa and justifies their inclusion in this study. Sant Vicent del Raspeig features as a case study in an examination of intergenerational transmission of Valencian by Montoya and Mas (2011), and therefore, the data collected as part of this project builds upon their findings. Little research has been carried out into the sociolinguistic situation in the La Vila Joiosa and it was recommended as a site of interest by researchers at the University of Alicante.

For the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the populations of both towns remained fairly steady, and significant growth did not occur until the second half of the century. However, as the statistics in Figure 14 reveal, both towns grew considerably in the period between 1950 and 1970. The growth at this time coincides with high rates of immigration from less developed Castilian-speaking areas of Spain to the regions of

Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearics as a result of urbanisation and industrialisation, and also the emergence of tourism (Casesnoves Ferrer et al., 2006: 201). During this period, people arrived in Sant Vicent del Raspeig from other areas of Spain to work in the local industries, especially the production of cement and other building supplies (Montoya & Mas, 2011: 274). La Vila Joiosa had a tradition of maritime industries and chocolate production, and during this period these local industries expanded and the service sector and tourism developed, contributing to economic prosperity and the need for workers (see Espinosa Ruiz, no date; Gómez López, 1997).

Such developments led to a new Castilian-speaking working class in areas where regional languages were traditionally spoken. Migration from villages to cities at this time also contributed to the stigmatisation of regional languages, such as Valencian, and their speakers, who became associated with rural and uneducated backgrounds (Casesnoves Ferrer & Sankoff, 2004: 5). Migration as a result of the processes of industrialisation and urbanisation coincided with Franco's desire to create a united Spain with one language and identity (Cucó, 1989: 211; Guibernau, 2004: 36). As is commented upon in chapter three, in order to create a linguistically and culturally homogenous nation, his regime encouraged migration from Castilian-speaking areas to regions with their own language to dilute linguistic and cultural identities (Montaruli et al., 2011: 96). The majority of migrants were unaware of such hidden agendas and instead relocated for economic reasons (Guibernau, 2004: 69). However, such population movements and internalised language beliefs from this period had implications for language policy, which continue to be felt today.

Further population growth occurred after the 1970s in both towns, particularly in Sant Vicent del Raspeig. In the 1980s and 1990s the population continued to grow as Alicante city expanded and many of its already castilianised inhabitants moved to nearby Sant Vicent del Raspeig (Montoya & Mas, 2011: 275). Such developments have led to Sant Vicent del Raspeig becoming less isolated as a separate town and more connected to the city, which is 8km away (Montoya and Mas, 2011: 274). Additionally, since 1979, the University of Alicante's campus has been located in Sant Vicent del Raspeig. Although a campus university, over the

years, changes to local infrastructure have led to the university becoming more integrated into the town of Sant Vicent del Raspeig. The university now has over 30,000 students, who come from the Valencian Community, other parts of Spain, and also abroad. Many of its students live in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and it is the largest employer in the province of Alicante (University of Alicante, no date). Today, construction and industry remain important employers in Sant Vicent del Raspeig along with the service industry (Diputación de Alicante, 2015a).

In La Vila Joiosa, the number of chocolate factories and people employed in the industry fell towards the end of the twentieth century as methods became increasingly mechanised. In 1964, the town had twenty-one chocolate factories, which employed 424 employees; however by 1996, this had reduced to five factories. Staff numbers for 1996 are unavailable, but in 1993 there were just eight chocolate factories across Alicante province, which employed 153 people (Gómez López, 1997; 65). Despite this decline, the population of La Vila Joiosa has continued to increase and today the principal sectors of employment are industry, construction and the service sector (Diputación de Alicante, 2015b).

It should be noted that today Sant Vicent del Raspeig and Alicante city are connected with frequent tram and bus routes in operation, facilitating commuting between the two areas. Likewise, La Vila Joiosa, which is 36km from Alicante city and was historically isolated due to its geographic position (Espinosa Ruiz, no date), now also has tram and motorway connections allowing increased mobility to the city.

The expansion seen in both towns has had repercussions for the composition of the local population, and also the sociolinguistic setting (see Figure 15).

Figure 15: Population of Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa in 2014 according to birth place (adapted from La Diputaci3n de Alicante, 2015a; 2015b)

<b>Total population of Sant Vicent del Raspeig</b>	55,946
<b>Born in...</b>	
...Spain	50,749
...The Valencian Community	38,282
...Alicante province	37,542
...Sant Vicent del Raspeig	11,499
...a different municipality in Alicante province	26,043
...a different province in The Valencian Community	740
...a different autonomous community	12,467
...another country	5,197
<b>Total Population of La Vila Joiosa</b>	33,951
<b>Born in...</b>	
...Spain	26,519
...The Valencian Community	18,807
...Alicante province	18,193
...La Vila Joiosa	13,164
...a different municipality in Alicante province	5,029
...a different province in The Valencian Community	614
...a different autonomous community	7,712
...another country	7,432

Montoya and Mas (2011: 274) comment that population growth in Sant Vicent del Raspeig has led to the autochthonous Valencian-speaking population becoming the minority, in relation to the Castilian-speaking majority. Whilst the linguistic background of residents is not available, statistics show that today the number of residents in both towns who were born there, now represent the minority. Statistics suggest mobility amongst residents, who have moved to the town from elsewhere, which in turn has implications for local language policy. In 2014, 20.6% of Sant Vicent del Raspeig's population (11,499 residents) were born in the town and in La Vila Joiosa, this figure stood at 38.8% (13,164 residents). In Sant Vicent del Raspeig, 12,467 inhabitants were born in a different autonomous community and 5,197 inhabitants were born in another country, suggesting that 31.6% of the local population perhaps grew up without exposure to Valencian. Similarly, in La Vila Joiosa, 7,712 residents were born in a different autonomous community and 7,432 residents were born abroad, which may suggest that 44.6% of the population did not

access Valencian growing up. It should be noted that these inferences are just that, and they have been made to offer a simplified indication of the current sociolinguistic situation. As is discussed in chapter five, some migrants do acquire Valencian through formal education, which has contributed to the evolving profile of the Valencian speaker and may suggest that traditional perceptions of minority language speakers are now being challenged due to changes in acquisition (O'Rourke et al., 2015). Furthermore, not all respondents born in the town have grown up with access to the language due to migration from beyond the Valencian Community and the monolingual Castilian education that existed during Franco's dictatorship. As is discussed later in the thesis, such developments also contribute to changing perceptions of identity.

#### 4.5 Concluding Remarks

The changing demography of Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa as a result of industrial development, suggests that language policy in both towns is complex and dynamic due to particular local circumstances and the diverse social and linguistic backgrounds of the population. Additionally, improved transport links have increased mobility, meaning that today both sites are less isolated than they previously were. Consequently, the local sociolinguistic setting has developed over recent years and the resulting intricate web of language practices, language beliefs, and language management, are examined in greater detail in the next chapter. The selection of these two towns also enables specific local language policy to be positioned in relation to existing data which consider the sociolinguistic setting more broadly at the level of *comarca* (Generalitat Valenciana 2005; 2010).



## Chapter 5 - Language Policy in Alicante

### 5.1 Introduction

Spolsky (2004) positions language policy in a broad context and divides it into three components (language practices, language beliefs and language management), which allows a detailed and logical assessment of language policy, as discussed in chapter two. This framework enables an analysis of language policy to be conducted from a broad perspective, rather than simply a linguistic view. Thus, extra-linguistic factors and their influence on the sociolinguistic setting are also considered (Spolsky, 2004: ix).

In keeping with this broad approach, this chapter considers language policy in Alicante from a number of perspectives. With a focus on linguistic repertoires and Valencian identities, the first two sections of this chapter focus on the speakers themselves, since they are important agents of language policy, and how they contribute to the present sociolinguistic situation. Following this, external factors, specifically the closure of the public broadcaster *Ràdio Televisió Valenciana* (RTVV), and its influence on language policy is considered. However, whilst the wide scope of Spolsky's framework (2004) offers advantages in that the sociolinguistic setting is considered in a broad context, the expanded definition of language policy also presents difficulties. For example, within the constraints of a thesis, it is not possible to consider every single factor that may contribute to the language policy in a given setting. Similarly, it is not possible to analyse responses to all the questions within the space of one chapter. Instead, a selection of questions has been chosen for further analysis in order to develop arguments based around three themes, which are discussed shortly.

As discussed in chapter two, Spolsky's (2004) framework presents various advantages and limitations. The division of language policy into three components should allow a systematic approach to the assessment of a sociolinguistic setting. However, the interdependence of language practices, beliefs and management, means that separating them does not allow the full picture to be presented. Instead, the nature of Spolsky's framework calls for a holistic approach to the study of

language policy. Since each component can influence, or be influenced by, another, to separate them would detract from the analysis of the findings.

Guided by the research questions outlined in chapter one, this chapter is divided into three sections. Following this brief introduction, the first part of the chapter draws upon data collected about language practices to analyse the evolution of the composition of linguistic repertoires. Following this, data gathered about language beliefs is interpreted to consider how the construction and perception of identity has developed as a response to changes to language acquisition. These two sections seek to answer the first two research questions:

- What is current language policy in Alicante and how do the three components of Spolsky's framework interact to influence the current sociolinguistic setting?
- What is the relationship between Castilian and Valencian and how does it compare to official statements about language, which were made over thirty years ago in the transition to democracy?

As will be discussed, changes to the acquisition of Valencian since the transition to democracy have implications for the arrangement of linguistic repertoires at both an individual and community level. In particular, the time of one's formal education is particularly influential and comparisons will be made between individuals who attended school before and after the transition. The relationship between Castilian and Valencian at a societal level will be analysed with reference to the theoretical concepts of diglossia (Ferguson, 1959) and dilalia (Berruto, 1989a; 1989b). As will become clear, such developments have consequences for the perception and construction of identity, which is rooted in language beliefs, one of Spolsky's components of language policy (2004). This study suggests that the role of language in identity debates is evolving and that a tension exists between essentialised and dynamic conceptions of identity and that both models are employed in othering processes. Consideration will also be given to new speakers of Valencian who have emerged as a result of language revitalisation efforts since the transition to democracy and challenge existing views of minority languages and their

speakers (O'Rourke et al., 2015). The relationship between new and traditional raises important questions in terms of legitimacy, authority and belonging and adds a further layer of complexity to local language policy.

Having considered the role of speakers and their influence on language policy, this chapter then interprets data collected about language practices and language management in terms of media consumption to consider the influence of external factors on language policy. Guided by the third research question, which sought to address any other themes emerging from the data and their contribution to language policy, the final section of this chapter analyses the position of Valencian in the audio-visual sphere. Just prior to conducting fieldwork, the Valencian public broadcaster *Ràdio Televisió Valenciana* (RTVV) closed. In the third section of this chapter, the focus is on the political and sociolinguistic repercussions of the closure of its closure, a recurring topic of discussion during fieldwork. As will become apparent, political conflict is often presented as linguistic conflict, and such tensions have repercussions for local language policy. Additionally, data collected about attitudes towards language management suggest that linguistic citizenship (Stroud, 2001; Stroud & Heugh, 2004) may be a valuable approach to future language policy, rather than relying on traditional top-down language management.

Just as it is difficult to isolate the components of Spolsky's tripartite framework, it should be noted that the themes examined in this chapter cannot be easily separated because they overlap to contribute to the overall language policy. Furthermore, it is not possible to examine all the themes that emerged from this study here in this chapter. Instead, with the benefit of local knowledge and an understanding of the wider historical, cultural and social context (see Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015: 292) this chapter presents general results based upon recurring themes and comments.

As discussed in the previous chapter, this project drew upon various theoretical and methodological approaches during data collection and analysis in order to acquire a full appreciation of local language policy (Angouri, 2010: 30). As part of the analysis process, a careful examination of the data and the elaboration of

various mini chapters to develop issues arising from this study were carried out. This chapter incorporates quantitative and qualitative data collected during this study in order to provide a comprehensive view of language policy and to encapsulate the broad range of individual and community linguistic attitudes (Angouri, 2010: 41; Crease, 2010: 141). Quantitative data has been used to create pie charts so that comparisons can be made with previous large-scale surveys (Generalitat Valenciana, 2005; 2010). Qualitative data in the form of quotations from respondents is included to support arguments developed as a result of themes which emerged from the data. As discussed in the previous chapter, conversations that took place whilst respondents completed the questionnaire were recorded and transcribed. Including the contribution of every fieldwork respondent is not practical within the confines of a chapter. Rather, following a detailed analysis of all of the data collected, a selection of fieldwork examples based upon recurring comments from both Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa are included to illustrate the arguments developed. It should be noted that respondents' comments have been transcribed to reflect their speech. Therefore, the transcriptions do not necessarily correspond to standard Valencian but rather the local variety that they use. Every effort has been made to replicate the actual speech of respondents.

To preserve anonymity, throughout this chapter, respondents from Sant Vicent del Raspeig are labelled with the initial 'C' followed by a number and those from La Vila Joiosa are listed with the initial 'D' and a number. On occasion, reference is made to respondents from the pilot study conducted in Dénia and they are labelled as 'B' followed by a number. This is followed by the respondent's approximate age and their occupation to allow a wider context in which to interpret comments (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015: 293). Additional information about respondents and their backgrounds can be found in Appendices 4 and 5.

The themes discussed in this chapter are the result of social, political and linguistic change since the transition to democracy. It will become apparent that there is no single language policy in Alicante, and instead, the three components of language policy interact and intersect at various levels to create a complex and dynamic local language policy. Significant social and political changes in the last forty

years are challenging the existing sociolinguistic order and boundaries between speaker profiles are blurring (Hornsby, 2015: 107). As a result, local language policy is becoming more fluid and the current sociolinguistic situation reflects the wide range of experiences of speakers, which in turn raises important questions for language maintenance and future language policy.

Finally, throughout this chapter, current language policy in Alicante will be understood in relation to the previous sociolinguistic conditions examined in chapter three. Mar-Molinero (2000: 83) comments that the dictatorship remains a key point of reference for understanding contemporary Spanish society and this study reveals how the legacy of language ideology remains influential, even for those who did not experience the regime, and thus, contributes to language policy. Therefore, it is argued that in matters of language, Alicante remains in a period of transition. Moreover, the act of making Valencian and Castilian equally official in 1982 with the implementation of the Valencian Statute of Autonomy does not guarantee that the declaration will be realised (Spolsky, 2004: 8), and as is discussed, this study suggests that *de facto* language policy (Shohamy, 2006) has not yet caught up with official statements about language. Instead, the experiences and attitudes of individuals brought up prior to the transition to democracy exist alongside those educated since then, resulting in a wide range of language practices, beliefs and management, and therefore, a complex language policy.

## 5.2 Linguistic repertoires

As will become apparent, the position of Castilian and Valencian in individual linguistic repertoires varies due to the diverse linguistic trajectories of speakers (Blommaert & Backus, 2012) and data collected as part of this study suggest that the time of one's formal education is particularly influential. For those educated during the dictatorship, Castilian was the only permitted language of the school system. Therefore, access to Valencian was limited to informal exposure in the home environment and its acquisition was restricted to the spoken language through traditional intergenerational transmission and use amongst peer groups. In contrast, as is discussed in chapter three, for those educated since the transition to democracy, Castilian and Valencian are available at school. Therefore, all pupils, even those

whose language at home is Castilian, have access to the standard variety and literacy, in both languages (see Blas Arroyo, 2002). There are also opportunities for adults to learn Valencian, and the experiences of adult language learners and new speakers are considered here.

This variation at the level of individual linguistic repertoires also has implications for the position occupied by Castilian and Valencian in the community repertoire. Romaine observes that ‘no society needs two languages for the same set of functions’ (1995: 19), and as such, one language tends to be more socially dominant than another in multilingual contexts. This study suggests that despite the equal official status of the languages in Alicante, a linguistic hierarchy persists. As a consequence of the Castilianisation process discussed in chapter three, Castilian remains the dominant, and often, the default language of communication in the community repertoire since it continues to be the most accessible language for the majority of speakers. However, it will become apparent that the functional separation between the two languages is not as clearly identifiable as was previously so. Instead, there is a blurring of boundaries between domains as both Castilian and Valencian assume new roles, such as in education and public administration.

### 5.2.1 The Composition of Individual Linguistic Repertoires

Today, habitual Valencian speakers have access to Castilian, but habitual Castilian speakers do not necessarily have access to Valencian. As such, whilst Castilian occupies a space in the majority of individual repertoires, this is not necessarily true for Valencian. There are no longer any monolingual Valencian speakers as Franco’s regime ensured the mass acquisition of Castilian through its promotion as the sole official language and the repression of regional varieties, which resulted in today’s asymmetric bilingualism (Casesnoves Ferrer & Sankoff, 2004: 4). Thus, whilst Castilian and Valencian are now equally official in the Valencian Community, not all speakers have equal access to the languages. Additionally, those with access to both Valencian and Castilian do not necessarily have balanced competency and one language may dominate in their linguistic repertoire as a reflection of their language background (Blommaert & Backus, 2012; Pavlenko, 2006). As will be discussed, language acquisition and linguistic proficiency inform

language practices and language beliefs, which vary from individual to individual, and therefore, contribute to a complex local language policy.

As discussed in chapter three, Franco's regime sought to achieve linguistic and cultural hegemony through the promotion of a single language and identity (Guibernau, 2000a: 36). Respondents who attended school during the dictatorship commented on how the regime's attitudes towards language were enforced in the education system. Pupils were punished for using Valencian and teachers were only permitted to use Castilian. For children brought up in Valencian-speaking families, starting school was often the first time that they were exposed to Castilian. Respondent C7 (female, fifties, shopkeeper) lives in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and grew up there and she explained that she used Valencian at home and did not learn Castilian until she went to school. Respondent C11 (male, fifties, teacher) has always lived in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and he commented that there were times when teachers suggested to parents that they use Castilian with their children, believing that otherwise children would struggle to learn the language. During this period, those brought up in Valencian-speaking families received limited exposure to Castilian at home. However, these circumstances fostered a sense of guilt and inferiority towards minority languages and contributed to further language shift to Castilian (Mar-Molinero, 2000b: 85). Meanwhile, children raised in Castilian-speaking homes had no access to Valencian. Previous circumstances contrast with the present setting, where in light of the recognition of linguistic diversity, some respondents reported how teachers encourage them to learn and use Valencian with their children to help their studies. However, fieldwork data suggest that past experiences continue to contribute to present day language policy due to the internalisation and reproduction of previous negative language beliefs and practices.

Respondent C28 (female, fifties, cleaner) grew up as a Valencian speaker and has always lived in Sant Vicent del Raspeig. Valencian and Castilian both feature in her linguistic repertoire; however, due to her educational background, Valencian has a more restricted role. A self-evaluation of her proficiency in Valencian revealed that respondent C28's competency in Valencian is unbalanced. She states that she understands and speaks Valencian 'very well', she reads Valencian 'a bit' and writes

Valencian ‘hardly at all’. In keeping with previous sociolinguistic surveys, these conventionalised skills of understanding, speaking, reading and writing are used for ease of exposition. Additionally, respondents are familiar with the meta-language from their own education, which in turn creates hierarchical discourses. As mentioned in chapter four, a self-evaluation of one’s linguistic proficiency is subjective and varies from one individual to the next. However, it is a useful exercise as it reveals valuable information about linguistic confidence, authority and authenticity (Milroy, 2001; 2007; O’Rourke & Ramallo, 2013). In Valencian, respondent C28 has greater dominance of oral competencies (understanding and speaking) than literacy (reading and writing), and her unbalanced bilingualism reflects her formal education (Pavlenko, 2006: 8). Although she considers herself to be a bilingual speaker of Valencian and Castilian, she is only literate in Castilian because it is the only language she has studied formally. This informant showed a high level of awareness of what was experienced as linguistic deficit (Thiers, 2008, quoted in Jaffe & Oliva, 2013) since she was unable to access the elaborated code of Valencian (Bernstein, 1971) during her time at school.

Barton and Hamilton (1998: 10) note how powerful institutions, such as the education system, are able to encourage dominant literacies. In pursuit of linguistic and cultural unity, Franco’s regime denied speakers of minority languages access to literacy in the language and this study suggests that the effects of the monolingual Castilian education system continue to influence language policy. Although respondent C28 is in a position to decide between two spoken languages, she cannot choose her language of literacy. Instead, due to her educational background, she is obliged to read and write in Castilian and her proficiency dictates her language choices (Spolsky, 2009: 6). This imbalance of proficiency was demonstrated in practice during the administration of the questionnaire. Respondent C28 chose to discuss her answers in Valencian, her habitual spoken language, but she read the questions, and completed the consent forms in Castilian, the only language in which she is literate. In addition to its functional role, literacy has an emotional dimension and it is an issue that prompts a variety of feelings (Barton & Hamilton, 1998: 18). Respondent C28 conveyed a sense of sadness at not being literate in Valencian, which



is her habitual language and mother tongue. Conversely, respondents, such as respondent C7 (female, fifties, shopkeeper), who acquired Valencian literacy in later life following changes to language legislation, expressed pride in their competency. Discussing her literacy practices, respondent C28 explained that she always chooses to read, and also write, in Castilian due to her educational background.

‘Ho lisc [el valencià], però és molt lent. A lo millor pa comprendre, lo que hem dit aquí, tinc que anar-me per arrere. És més fàcil en castellà perquè no l’he estudiat el valencià.’

*(I can read it [Valencian] but very slowly. In order to understand, what we’ve already said, I have to go back on myself. It’s easier in Castilian because I haven’t studied Valencian.)*

Discussions with respondent C28 suggest that despite growing up as a Valencian speaker, she experiences linguistic insecurity in the language. Literacy may be interpreted as a sign of being educated (Barton & Hamilton, 1998: 18) and illiterate speakers may believe that they do not know a language as well as those who are literate in it (Romaine, 1995: 19). Several times during the administration of the questionnaire she repeated that she had not studied Valencian and she was keen to emphasise that she speaks a local variety of Valencian and that her speech differs to the standard variety.

‘No és el valencià este de València.’

*(It’s not Valencian from Valencia.)*

Other respondents also made reference to the difference between the standard variety of Valencian and their own way of speaking. Not only do they observe variation between local and standard varieties, they also emphasise how their spoken variety is associated with their area. This suggests the importance of ‘place’ and ‘language’ in identity perception and construction, and also the notion of language ownership, which are considered in greater depth later in this chapter. Respondent C12 (female, forties, maths tutor) explained how she speaks a local variety of Valencian.

‘Jo parle el valencià de Sant Vicent, no el valencià, o sea, didàctic.’

*(I speak Sant Vicent Valencian, not classroom Valencian.)*

Respondent D2 (female, forties, fishmonger) expressed a similar sentiment.

‘Ací en la Vila, el valencià que es parla no és valencià.’

*(Here in La Vila, the Valencian that we speak is not Valencian Valencian.)*

Both respondents were raised as Valencian speakers but are now studying Valencian formally. Respondent C12 is obliged to gain a formal qualification for her work and respondent D2 is studying for self-improvement. As such, they now have an awareness of standard Valencian through formal study and observe differences between the varieties, as exemplified in their comments. Examining the case of Galician new speakers, O’Rourke and Ramallo (2013: 291) note that the promotion of the standard form of Galician leaves colloquial varieties of the language doubly stigmatised, since local varieties are placed in a hierarchy below the standard form of Galician, and also Castilian. This repositioning of language varieties in one’s linguistic repertoire and the recognition of the differences between local varieties of Valencian and the standard variety taught in school reflects comments made by Abdulaziz Mkilifi (1972) with regard to triglossia, discussed in chapter two. Access to standard Valencian has prompted speakers such as respondents C12 and D2 to re-evaluate their languages and their social value.

The standard variety simply means the most uniform variety; however, it is often interpreted as the ‘highest prestige variety’ (Milroy, 2001: 532), and such social values are also attributed to speakers. Whilst traditional speakers of minority languages were previously viewed as authoritative and authentic speakers, changes to the acquisition of minority languages have resulted in a shift in perceptions of linguistic authority and legitimacy. Now, new speakers who have received a formal education in the language are positioned as linguistic authorities. Hornsby (2015: 117) notes that in minority language contexts traditional speakers may have less command of the language than new speakers who have studied the language formally and display greater competency. As such, traditional speakers may have a

low opinion of the language variety that they use because it is a local colloquial form. Similarly, O'Rourke and Ramallo (2013: 295) observe that older traditional speakers tend to pass authority over the language to younger speakers and new speakers who have been educated in the language. Likewise, Costa (2015: 144) notes that some traditional speakers of Provençal refer to the variety spoken by new speakers as 'real Provençal' whilst their own variety is simply 'patois'. This conflict between new and traditional speakers, and their varying language practices and beliefs, contributes to a complex language policy, and this is discussed further within this chapter.

Respondent C24 (female, fifties, cleaner) is originally from Alicante city and she moved to Sant Vicent del Raspeig, where she also works, fifteen years ago. She is a habitual Castilian speaker and Castilian was the only language that she was exposed to at home and school when growing up. Her parents were Castilian speakers originally from Andalucía and Castilla-La Mancha and they relocated to Alicante in the 1960s for work, which as noted in chapters three and four, was a common trend of population movement at the time (Guibernau, 2004: 69; Montoya & Mas, 2011: 274). The dominance of Castilian in respondent C24's linguistic repertoire due to her linguistic background was illustrated by her responses when she was asked to self-evaluate her proficiency in Valencian. She classified her understanding of spoken Valencian as 'un poco' (a bit) and her proficiency in the other skills as 'nada' (none).

Again linking to the concept of language and emotion (Pavlenko, 2006), respondent C24 expressed sadness that she had not been able to learn the local language. Her comments indicated a sense of frustration that Castilian is the only language available in her linguistic repertoire. Consequently, she cannot make choices about her language use in the same way as those who have acquired both Castilian and Valencian. When asked about her language practices in various contexts, she replied 'always Castilian'. Castilian is her habitual language and she explains that the majority of people in her social network (Milroy, 1987) are also monolingual Castilian speakers who grew up in similar circumstances. Her acquaintances who are habitual Valencian speakers are bilingual and usually adapt their linguistic practices and switch to Castilian to accommodate her. Respondent

C24's upbringing, and in particular, the period in which she grew up, meant that she was not able to acquire Valencian, which contributes to a feeling of regret and exclusion. Language has an important boundary-marking function (May, 2001: 131) and as is discussed later in this chapter, access to Valencian may enable cultural participation and interaction in new domains with new acquaintances, which has implications not only for linguistic repertoires but also identity (Pujolar & Puigdevall, 2015). Conversely, a lack of Valencian may contribute to a sense of sadness and also a sentiment of marginalisation. Not having access to Valencian caused particular frustration for respondent C24 when her children studied the language at school. She did not feel able to assist them with their homework and felt obliged to employ a tutor so that her children were not disadvantaged. Having grown up during the Franco regime which suppressed regional languages, respondent C24 was denied the chance to learn Valencian; yet, her children, educated in the democratic era, have had the opportunity to access the language. Her experiences reveal the variation that occurs in terms of linguistic repertoires from one generation to the next, and how diverse experiences of individuals in one community contribute to a complex language policy.

As discussed in chapter three, in contrast to older generations, pupils in the Valencian Community now study Valencian at school, and by the end of their compulsory education, they should achieve similar mastery in Castilian and Valencian (Blas Arroyo, 2002: 323). For pupils raised in Valencian-speaking families, exposure to Valencian at school enables an extension of their linguistic repertoire to include literacy and the standard language. Therefore, Valencian acquisition is no longer restricted to the spoken language, as it was for their parents. The current education system also makes Valencian acquisition possible for pupils brought up as Castilian speakers. As such, Valencian is now accessible to individuals who previously would not have been exposed to the language. Such developments have consequences for the composition of linguistic repertoires, questions of identity, linguistic security, and also, wider language policy.

Respondent D10 (female, twenties, postgraduate student) has always lived in La Vila Joiosa and she studies and teaches at the University of Alicante in Sant Vicent

del Raspeig. She grew up speaking Valencian at home and Valencian was the main language of instruction at school. Thus, she has been exposed to Valencian in informal and formal settings, which is reflected in her linguistic repertoire. Valencian is respondent D10's habitual language with family, neighbours and childhood friends, but Castilian has become her main language of communication for work and study. Respondent D10 has been able to develop her linguistic repertoire to an extent that was not possible under the previous education system and she has acquired a high level of proficiency in Castilian and Valencian across the linguistic competencies. She explained how both formal and informal education has contributed to the composition of her linguistic repertoire.

‘Sobretot he après valencià, a millorar-lo en l’escola. El valencià, l’he après en el carrer i en la família, però la he millorat, en l’escola.’

*(Above all I learnt Valencian, to improve it at school. I learnt Valencian in the street and from my family, but I improved it at school.)*

Her comment about Valencian acquisition reflects Milroy's (2001: 537) view that full competency in a language can only be obtained with the inclusion of formal education, which entails access to the standard language, literacy, and an elaborated code (Bernstein, 1971).

Respondent D10's upbringing contrasts to the experience of her mother, respondent D11 (female, forties, housewife) who did not acquire Valencian literacy at school. However, respondent D11 did acquire Valencian literacy in adulthood to assist her children with schoolwork; yet, despite elaborating her linguistic repertoire, discussions revealed that Castilian remains her dominant language of literacy and that her linguistic repertoire is unbalanced. For example, when asked in which language she wrote and read certain texts, ‘always Castilian’ was her most frequent answer. However, she did report that she uses Valencian to send group messages on *WhatsApp* with her mobile phone to family members and that she writes her shopping list in Valencian, for example, she lists sugar as *sucre* (Valencian) rather than *azúcar* (Castilian), which reflects her speech. This may suggest that the position of the languages in her linguistic repertoire has adjusted to reflect her language learning

(Blommaert & Backus, 2012). Respondent D11's written use of Valencian could be said to mirror her spoken use of the language since it is restricted to personal notes and communications with people with whom she would usually speak in Valencian. In contrast, she would always use Castilian in formal letters and her language use in emails depends on the formality and intended recipient of the message. She explained that she would use Valencian when emailing a friend or relative but that she would send an official email in Castilian. Respondent D11's written use of Valencian suggests that her practices have evolved, not only in response to her acquisition of literacy but also to developments in technology. Her written communications in Valencian contain characteristics of her speech (Crystal, 1995), which may indicate new hybridised uses of Valencian. Smartphones and messaging platforms such as *WhatsApp* usually feature a spellchecker and an autocorrect feature. This allows errors that might occur in handwritten communications to be eliminated and perhaps removes a layer of linguistic insecurity that would be felt when writing by hand. Additionally, such messaging services allow synchronous communication which could be said more closely reflect the characteristics of speech than writing (Hutchby, 2014).

Unlike her mother, respondent D10 has achieved a high level of proficiency in Castilian and Valencian due to her educational background, and consequently, she is able to negotiate and shift the position of languages in her linguistic repertoire according to her circumstances. This coincides with Blommaert and Backus' observation that linguistic repertoires 'follow the rhythms of actual human lives' (2012: 15). Unlike older generations whose language practices may be dictated by proficiency, respondent D10 can choose between her languages and adapt her language practices according to the context. Moreover, the position of Castilian and Valencian in her repertoire can evolve over time. This shifting of her languages within the linguistic repertoire was revealed in respondent D10's self-evaluation of her knowledge of Valencian. She considers that she understands, speaks and reads Valencian 'perfectament o sense problemes' but she classes her writing less favourably as 'molt bé' (very good). She explains that although she grew up using Valencian as her habitual spoken and written language, her current work means that

Castilian now features more in her daily use. Her research area is mathematics, and whilst it is taught in schools in Valencian, most of her university studies have been carried out in Castilian because it is the dominant language in her field. She explained that whilst some classes at the university are taught in Valencian, she has been allocated teaching in Castilian this year. She considers that her recent experiences are affecting her written competency in Valencian. Since she does not have as many opportunities to practise her written Valencian, respondent D10 believes that she is losing some knowledge of the grammar. Furthermore, she notes that at the level of postgraduate research, English rather than Castilian, is the main language since researchers aim to disseminate their work to an international audience. As such, English also features in her linguistic repertoire, and its position has strengthened, as it is a necessary requirement in her field.

Yet, despite achieving a high degree of proficiency in Valencian and Castilian, which results in being able to choose between both languages equally, respondent D10 commented that she is most comfortable using Valencian, the language that she grew up with at home. This reflects the view that a balanced bilingual is an idealised concept, and that instead, one language tends to dominate in an individual's linguistic repertoire (Romaine, 1995: 19). Respondent D10's sentiments were echoed by respondents raised in similar circumstances. Respondent C2 (male, thirties, teacher) from Sant Vicent del Raspeig and respondent D1 (male, twenties, postgraduate student) from La Vila Joiosa were both raised as Valencian speakers, were schooled in Valencian, and continue to be habitual Valencian speakers. Although they possess a high level of proficiency in both Castilian and Valencian, they both explained that they feel more comfortable in Valencian. Therefore, whilst Castilian and Valencian both have equal official status, and some individuals, such as respondents C2, D1 and D10, are able to achieve high levels of proficiency in both languages, one language tends to command a stronger position in the linguistic repertoire. However, unlike older generations who received a monolingual education, younger speakers such as those discussed here can adapt their linguistic practices and shift the position of their languages in the repertoire according to circumstances.

Changes to the education system and acquisition of Valencian also affect those raised as Castilian speakers. Respondent C15 (male, 18-20, sixth form student) has always lived in Sant Vicent del Raspeig. He was raised as a Castilian speaker as his parents were originally from a Castilian-speaking area of Spain. Valencian also features in his linguistic repertoire as he is obliged to study the language for his *bachillerato* qualification. However, unlike respondent D10, the main language of instruction for respondent C15 at school is Castilian and he studies Valencian as an additional subject. He is nearing the end of his compulsory education, and therefore, his studies of Valencian. Yet he self-evaluates his proficiency in the language as quite low. This suggests linguistic insecurity on his part, since by the end of compulsory schooling, pupils should achieve similar mastery of both Castilian and Valencian (Blas Arroyo, 2002: 323). Respondent C15 considers that he understands, speaks and reads Valencian quite well ‘bastante bien’ and he classes his writing ability as ‘un poco’ (a bit). Discussions with respondent C15, and other sixth form students (respondents C16 and C17, both females and aged 18-20), revealed that for some, Valencian simply features in the linguistic repertoire as a school subject and their use of Valencian does not extend beyond the classroom. Respondent C15’s comments suggest that he does not perceive Valencian as very useful outside of school.

‘Lo que pasa aquí es que la gente no se comunica en valenciano.’

*(What happens here is that people don’t communicate in Valencian.)*

This remark indicates that respondent C15 considers that Castilian holds the dominant position in the community repertoire, and that current social circumstances do not provide the necessary conditions to practise the languages in his individual repertoire equally. This coincides with the view that the presence, and therefore absence of a language from the public space, influences language policy (Shohamy, 2006: 10) and perhaps suggests that the resources in respondent C15’s linguistic repertoire do not coincide with those at a community level. Perceived linguistic insecurity and beliefs about the community repertoire, which are discussed later, perhaps prevent respondents, such as C15, from translating knowledge of Valencian into social use of the language. Similarly, respondent D5 (female, twenties,



unemployed/looks after family) explained how Castilian is her habitual language in all contexts except for at the Valencian language class, which she attends so that she can help her son with his school work. However, the 6<sup>th</sup> form respondents commented that whilst they do not use Valencian regularly at present, it may be useful in the future, suggesting that languages in one's repertoire can be reactivated as and when is required. In particular, they spoke of how Valencian may become more useful if they moved to another part of the Valencian Community or in some employment sectors. Such comments reflect the notion that Valencian and its speakers are elsewhere. However, as is discussed in greater detail later, such beliefs also suggest that Valencian has acquired instrumental value since it is perceived as valuable for certain jobs, with respondents citing as examples, work in the healthcare system or in shops and cafes, in order to communicate with local customers.

Discussions with respondent C10 (female, forties, teacher) who teaches Valencian at a school in Sant Vicent del Raspeig revealed that whilst her pupils become proficient users of Valencian, it is difficult to encourage them to use the language in contexts other than school. Knowledge of Valencian does not always result in social use of the language (Casesnoves Ferrer & Sankoff, 2004), perhaps due to a lack of confidence and the perception that Castilian holds a dominant role in the community repertoire. For many of respondent C10's pupils, Castilian is the language that they have grown up using, and as such, it remains an easier option, and a more accessible linguistic resource, than Valencian. Additionally, in Sant Vicent del Raspeig, Castilian is now the most audible and visible language, resulting in part from population growth and outside influence over the last sixty years (Montoya & Mas, 2011: 274). Demographic changes and the persistence of previous language ideologies mean that Castilian is the default language of communication at community level. Proficiency often limits language use for those educated prior to the transition to democracy who did not have equal access to Castilian and Valencian. However, factors such as the linguistic setting influence language practices amongst those educated after the introduction of Valencian at school who have access to both languages formally.

During fieldwork, questionnaires were also administered to a number of respondents who could be described as new speakers. New speakers acquire a minority language, such as Valencian, through formal education, rather than traditional intergenerational transmission (O'Rourke et al., 2015: 1). With reference to Catalonia, Pujolar and Puigdevall note that new speakers are 'functionally bilingual in the sense that they can use both languages [Castilian and Catalan] in daily life' (2015: 168). In this particular research context, new speakers grew up as Castilian speakers, but Valencian subsequently become their habitual language of communication. Respondents C5 (male, forties, self-employed), C6 (male, thirties, teacher and translator) and C14 (male, forties, lecturer) were all raised in Castilian speaking families and were exposed to Valencian as teenagers at school. Whilst for some learners Valencian remains a language of the classroom, all three respondents have adopted Valencian as their habitual language and respondents C5 and C14 are bringing up their children in the language.

During fieldwork discussions, it emerged that all three respondents have a certain level of sociolinguistic awareness and that they are conscious of Valencian's position as a minority language (O'Rourke & Ramallo, 2013). They explained that they try to use Valencian as often as possible, for example, respondent C6 described how Valencian has become his habitual spoken and written language, whereas previously he used Castilian. However, as is discussed later, he is obliged to maintain Castilian in certain contexts. Additionally, all three respondents could be described as language activists since they are involved in projects to encourage Valencian use (O'Rourke & Ramallo, 2015) and respondents C6 and C14 have positioned themselves as language authorities. Respondent C6 is a teacher and translator of Valencian and respondent C14 runs a Valencian conversation group in his spare time. As such, they are now both in a position to advise new(er) speakers of Valencian.

Ortega et al. (2015) note that over time and through habitual use of Basque, 'new speakers of Basque' become 'speakers of Basque'. Therefore, gradually their identity shifts and 'new speakers' are no longer perceived as 'new'. However, they are not perceived as having the same level of authenticity as traditional speakers, suggesting that a divide between new and traditional speakers remains. Similarly, the

status and identity of respondents C6 and C14 has altered as they no longer seek to learn Valencian, but instead advise new learners of the language. As such, having fulfilled their original aim, they have repositioned themselves in a new community of practice (Eckert, 2000; 2006), where the new intention is to help other new speakers. Such practices suggest that the notion of linguistic authority is shifting as a result of language revitalisation programmes and increased acquisition of minority languages. As such, new forms of knowledge associated with formal language learning are also valued alongside the traditional assumed authority of the native speaker (Hornsby, 2015; Jaffe, 2015). However, whilst new speakers view their actions and attitudes positively, O'Rourke and Ramallo (2013) note that their stance may be perceived as extreme by some traditional speakers, who may feel alienated or threatened and believe that their legitimacy and authority is being questioned. Further exclusion may be felt as language revitalisation movements often do not involve traditional speakers (Hornsby, 2015: 118), despite recommendations by Fishman (1991) to begin the reversal of language shift with such individuals. Additionally, new speakers often focus on the ideology of the standard language, to which traditional speakers do not usually have access (Hornsby, 2015: 119). Thus, traditional speakers may feel excluded from such programmes, and view them negatively, suggesting that a degree of conflict exists between new and traditional speakers due to their differing linguistic attitudes and behaviour.

Following the implementation of language maintenance programmes, the concepts of authority and legitimacy are transforming, and as a result, both new and traditional speakers occupy positions of linguistic authority (Jaffe, 2015: 42). The institutionalisation and standardisation of a minority language may devalue traditional varieties and their speakers; however, traditional speakers are also looked up to as ideal models of speech since the variety that they speak is considered authentic due to its origins and attachment to a particular place (O'Rourke & Ramallo, 2013; Woolard, 2008b). Equally, following changes to minority language acquisition, new speakers are also perceived as authoritative speakers since they have access to the standard form and literacy, although the variety that they use does not come from anywhere, and therefore, is perceived as anonymous and perhaps

less authentic (O'Rourke & Ramallo, 2013; Woolard, 2008b). As will be discussed in the second part of this chapter, these developments have implications both in terms of identity and also language policy. New speakers are not necessarily perceived as legitimate speakers by themselves or others, yet in some cases they may claim more linguistic authority than traditional speakers due to their exposure to Valencian in a formal learning environment and the elaborated registers and literacy that this entails.

Yet, whilst becoming a new speaker implies a change of linguistic behaviour and an adjustment of languages in one's linguistic repertoire, new speakers do not usually substitute the language that they had previously used in existing contexts with the new language. As such, prior relationships continue in Castilian but Valencian acquisition enables speakers to participate in new social spaces with new acquaintances (Pujolar & Puigdevall, 2015). Therefore, new speakers reposition their languages within their individual linguistic repertoire, which develops over time to reflect linguistic and educational experiences (Blommaert & Backus, 2012). For example, respondent C5 explained that he has old friends with whom he uses Castilian, and newer acquaintances with whom he uses Valencian.

'Els que són de tota la vida, els que han viscut en Alacant no parlen valencià, ni l'utilitzen mai, i altre grup d'amics que pues sí lo utilitze. Depén de l'amic sempre.'

*(Those who I have always known, those who have lived in Alicante and do not speak Valencian, and do not even use it, and [I have] another group of friends, yes with them, I do use it. It always depends on the friend.)*

Similarly, whilst respondents C5 and C14 use Valencian with their children, they use Castilian with their wives, siblings and parents. As such, although they wish to use Valencian as often as possible, respondents C5, C6 and C14 have not abandoned Castilian completely. Instead, they continue to use Castilian to maintain relationships that began in Castilian prior to their acquisition of Valencian. Additionally, these individuals retain Castilian for their consumption of the press, literature, and audio-visual media. The position of Valencian on the television and radio is examined in

greater detail later in this chapter, with a particular focus on the closure of *Ràdio Televisió Valenciana* (RTVV) and the implications for language policy. Valencian literary and journalistic markets also deserve to be the subject of greater research and comparisons with neighbouring Catalonia would further contribute to an understanding of language policy. However, here, due to the constraints of the thesis and the focus of this chapter, only a brief discussion is possible.

In terms of the press, there are a small number of publications in Valencian; however, they tend to be online rather than in traditional paper form. As such, Valencian has a low presence in the printed sphere, where instead Castilian dominates. Strubell and Boix-Fuster (2011: 4) comment on the difficulties of Catalan media competing with established Castilian alternatives. For example, respondent C6 (male, thirties, teacher/translator) explained that whilst he considers Valencian to now be his habitual language, he generally reads the newspaper in Castilian because he prefers to read *El País*, which is only available in Castilian. When asked which language he would prefer to read certain texts in, he answered Valencian. However, for his practices to change, viable alternatives in Valencian would have to be available, since content, in addition to language, inform his choice.

When asked to comment upon their consumption of newspapers and magazines, on several occasions, respondents explained that they read the news in both Valencian and Castilian; however, they regularly distinguished between their habits in terms of paper and digital publications. In this way, respondents C2 and C11 both gave two answers to the same question when asked in which language they read the newspaper. Due to the varied answers received when posing this question, it is not possible to provide a meaningful pie chart of statistics in this case. They explained that they always read a traditional printed newspaper in Castilian, whereas to read the news in Valencian, they always go online. Others, such as respondents C9 (female, forties, teacher), C10 (female, forties, teacher), C20 (female, forties, tutor and writer) and C29 (female, fifties, teacher) gave just one answer to the question and commented that they read the news in both languages. They explained that they read the news in both languages according to the publication. As individuals with access to literacy in both languages, they are in a position to choose to read in both;

however, they adapt their practices accordingly, since to read in Valencian they look online. Whilst online publications such as *La Veu* and *VilaWeb* offer their articles for free, the newspaper *El Punt Avui* only provides full content to readers who subscribe. Other respondents, such as respondent C11 (male, fifties, teacher) commented that they read the weekly magazine *El Temps*. It was established in 1984 by *Edicions del País Valencià* and has editorial offices in Valencia, Barcelona, and Palma de Mallorca. Although it is available in paper form at a price of 4 Euros per copy, a survey of kiosks and stationers revealed that it is not widely available in and around Alicante. Instead those that wish to read it are required to subscribe.

As has been discussed briefly, data collected as part of this study revealed that respondents wishing to read the news in Valencian are usually obliged to search online. An online presence may be interpreted as positive since it reflects changing reading habits and technological advancements. It is also an affordable manner of reaching Valencian-readers from all over the world. Yet, whilst a number of respondents commented that they subscribe to these publications, it should be noted that they were respondents with a high level of education and a strong interest in the language. Others, such as respondent C4 (female, thirties, administrator) commented that whilst she knows that such online publications exist, she does not feel particularly motivated to read them. Additionally, those without internet are not able to access Valencian language news as readily as they could with a printed version and respondent D7 (male, forties, currently unemployed) commented upon the additional effort involved to search online.

### 5.2.2 How the Individual and Community Repertoire Influence Language Choice

Spolsky (2004: 217) notes that language policy is about choice and the decisions that are made at individual, group and authority levels. In this research context, it is only those who have access to both languages, through formal and informal learning, that are in a position to make such decisions. Those who only have access to Castilian, such as respondent C24, are unable to choose between languages. Consequently, their language practices are informed by proficiency and are limited to Castilian due to previous circumstances. Additionally, those who have access to Castilian and Valencian do not necessarily have balanced competency, or

that is their perception, and one language may dominate in certain language areas (Pavlenko, 2006: 8). For example, respondent C28 can choose between Castilian and Valencian as spoken languages, but her literacy is restricted to Castilian due to the monolingual Castilian education that she received. Equally, whilst respondent C15 has studied Valencian formally for a number of years, he is insecure about his knowledge, which results in continued use of Castilian.

The complex range of backgrounds and varied language-learning trajectories at an individual level complicates the position of Castilian and Valencian in the community repertoire. Data analysis suggests that a linguistic hierarchy persists with Castilian holding a higher position in the community repertoire than Valencian. Unequal proficiency in Valencian is a result of previous circumstances and contributes to current language policy. Additionally, as will become clear, language beliefs and discourses from the Franco period have been consolidated and continue to influence the present sociolinguistic setting. As such, despite official statements about the parity of Castilian and Valencian (see chapter three), Castilian maintains a dominant role in the community repertoire. In order to explore the relationship between the two languages further, the present sociolinguistic setting is considered with reference to the theoretical frameworks of diglossia (Ferguson, 1959) and dilalia (Berruto, 1989a; 1989b).

During the administration of the fieldwork questionnaire it emerged that in many cases habitual Valencian speakers, who therefore are bilingual speakers, regularly adapt their language practices according to their interlocutor. However, those who perceive themselves as monolingual Castilian speakers are obliged to use Castilian. Yet, as mentioned in chapter one this separation between the languages is artificial since those who have been exposed to Valencian over a long period of time will have at least acquired passive knowledge of the language. When asked to comment on their language choice with friends, responses revealed that those who opted to answer the questionnaire in Valencian showed greater variation between both languages than those who selected to complete the task in Castilian, suggesting that they adapt their language practices according to their interlocutor (see Figures 16 and 17). As mentioned in chapter four, the use of multiple-choice questions

enabled quantitative in addition to qualitative data analysis. Not all respondents answered each question, so only those who provided a response are included in pie charts. Respondent C12 (female, forties, maths tutor) who grew up as a Valencian speaker said that she uses both Castilian and Valencian depending on the friend. As mentioned in chapter four, analysing fieldwork responses according to the language that respondents chose to answer the questionnaire offers an additional layer of analysis. Although the language that respondents chose to complete the task was not always their habitual language, this choice did provide an indication as to their language beliefs and feelings of linguistic security.

Figure 16: Language choice with friends amongst respondents in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa who answered the questionnaire in Valencian

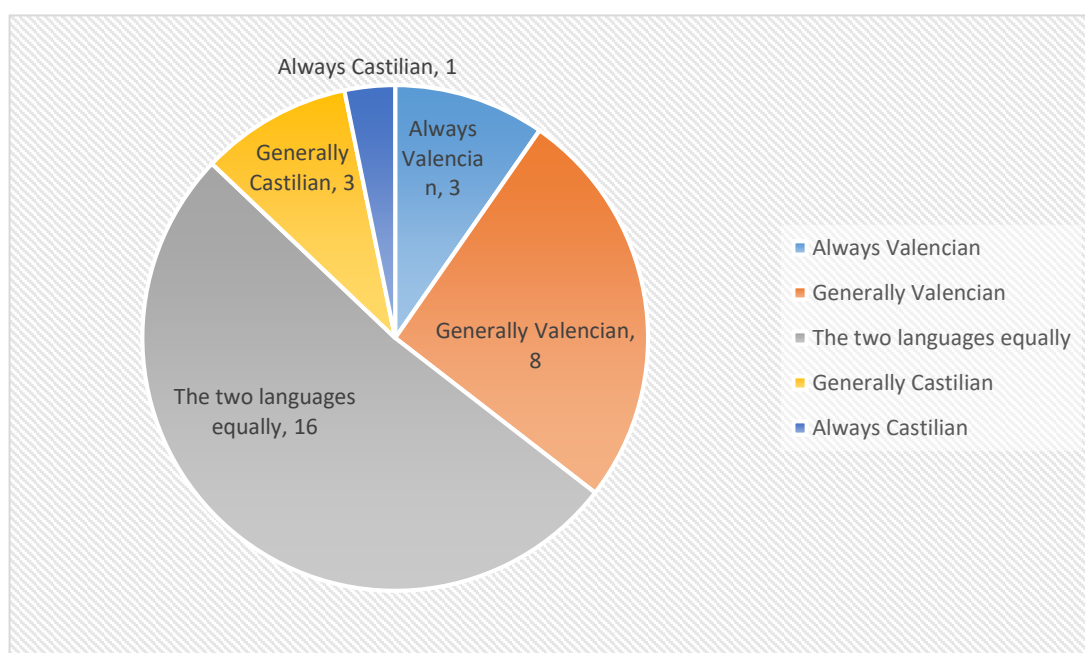
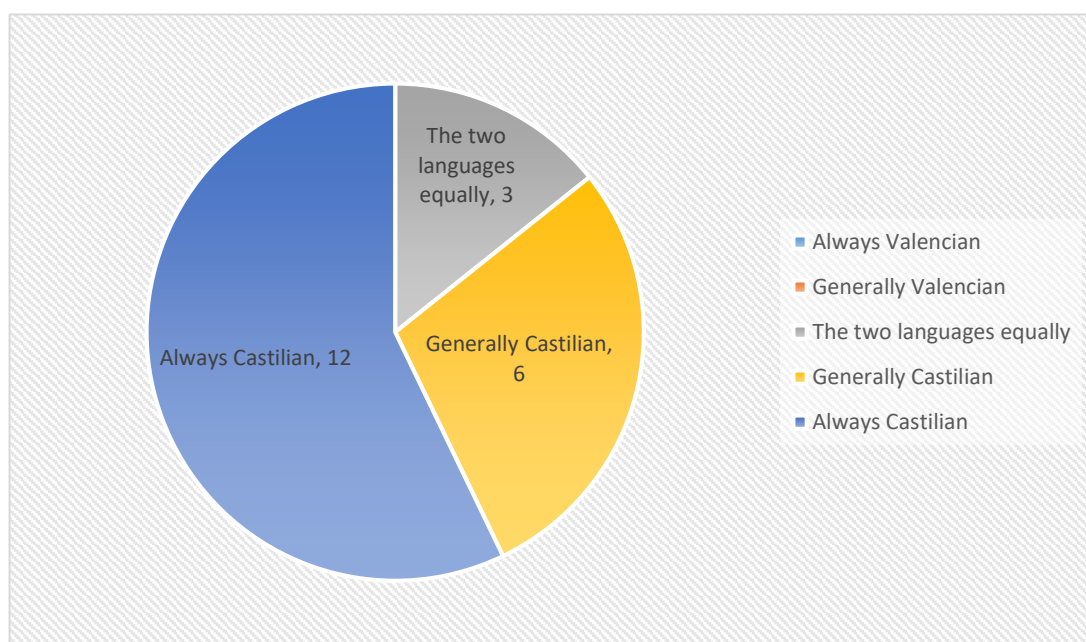




Figure 17: Language choice with friends amongst respondents in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa who answered the questionnaire in Castilian



Data collected for this study indicate that when the interlocutor is known to be a habitual Valencian speaker, Valencian is used; likewise, if they are known to be a Castilian speaker, communication takes place in Castilian. Additionally, as is discussed later, if an interlocutor's linguistic background has not been revealed, Castilian tends to be employed as the default language. Respondent D2 (female, forties, fishmonger) explained that she switches languages according to the customer at her market stall. Similarly, respondent C7 (female, fifties, shopkeeper) was observed switching between Castilian and Valencian with customers according to their linguistic background. However, whilst respondent C7 regularly switches language according to the linguistic preferences of her customers, she struggles to alternate between Castilian and Valencian once a relationship has been established in one language. In fact, many respondents explained that once a relationship is established in one language, it tends to be maintained in that language, which coincides with Pujolar and Puigdevall's findings in Catalonia (2015: 175). Respondent C7 was brought up in a Valencian speaking home but generally she uses Castilian in her own home with her husband and children because her husband is a Castilian

speaker from Soria (Castile and Leon). Her son, respondent C8 (male, twenties, shop assistant) now has an interest in Valencian, having learnt it at school and on occasion asks to speak with her in Valencian. However, respondent C7 explained that speaking to her son in Valencian is more difficult than she imagined, since she is used to using Castilian with him. She described how she starts her sentence in Valencian and ends up finishing it in Castilian.

‘A lo mejor decimos tres frases y pasamos al castellano.’

*(We probably say three sentences and then we switch back to Castilian.)*

Respondent C34 (female, fifties, dinner lady) also reported difficulties in switching languages once a relationship has been established. Originally from Madrid, she moved to Alicante with her family around twenty years ago and her children were obliged to study Valencian at school. When they complained about the difficulties of learning Valencian, she decided to start studying the language. Despite having spent the last few years studying and sitting formal exams, her use of Valencian remains limited to the learning environment and her work, where she is encouraged to use Valencian with pupils. Observing adult learners of Corsican, Jaffe (2015: 33) found that not all learners aimed to achieve frequent active competence in Corsican. For some, the language classroom is perceived as a valued activity in itself (Jaffe, 2015: 39) and represents a safe and valued space to use the new language. As such, the language classroom could be described as a community of practice (Eckert, 2006: 683) since individuals regularly meet to carry out the shared goal of language learning. As is discussed later, there is a close connection between language and identity and communities of practice, such as the minority language classroom, are influential in terms of identity and linguistic construction and behaviour (Eckert, 2006: 685; Wardhaugh, 2010: 242).

Respondent C34 explained that, like respondent C7, her relationships continue in the language in which she started them. As such, she always uses Valencian with her conversation class colleagues, even outside of class, since it is the language in which they met. She has friends who are habitual Valencian speakers, but since she met them before she could speak to them in Valencian, their

relationship continues in Castilian. She also commented that if she overhears strangers speaking in Valencian she would like to be able to join in the conversation in Valencian but worries about how they would react to her using Valencian. Respondent D9 (female, fifties, vet) reported similar experiences to respondent C34. She moved to La Vila Joiosa from Andalucía around twenty years ago and recently started learning Valencian. She also struggles to use Valencian with those who knew her before she began studying the language. Although respondent D9 is keen to alter her linguistic practices and use Valencian, her interlocutors do not necessarily have the same attitude.

‘A vegades hi ha gent, com jo sempre parle castellà, quan jo parle valencià, no li agrada o veu raro o diferent.’

*(Sometimes there are people, and since I always speak Castilian, when I speak Valencian, they do not like it or they find it strange or different.)*

Similar observations have been made in Wales, where Welsh speakers have trouble using the language with learners that they already know as English speakers (Trosset, 1986: 173). As such, once a relationship is established in one language it continues in that language and individual personal relationships tend to be monolingual. Such language beliefs and practices contribute to the continued dominance of Castilian in the community repertoire, and in turn, result in disparity between official language statements and *de facto* language policy (Shohamy, 2006). Respondent D9’s remark also suggests a sense of linguistic insecurity since using Valencian is not necessarily met with acceptance. She explained that whilst she would like to use Valencian with more people, she is not sure whether she is using the language well. Respondent D5 (female, twenties, unemployed/looks after family) is also learning Valencian and expressed similar sentiments. She explained that she is studying Valencian to help her son with his school work and that she would like to practise the language more often but she does not feel confident when using Valencian.

‘Me da vergüenza hablarlo porque no sé hablarlo bien. Me equivoco o cualquier cosa.’

*(I'm embarrassed to speak it because I don't know how to speak it well. I will make a mistake or something.)*

Such comments coincide with observations that new speakers may experience linguistic insecurity and a lack of legitimacy when they compare themselves to traditional speakers (Ortega et al., 2015: 86). The experience of these respondents perhaps also reinforces the notion that the classroom offers a secure place to practise Valencian with likeminded individuals who share a similar objective (Eckert, 2000; 2006) without fear of the judgement of others. To take one's knowledge of Valencian outside of the classroom is difficult and suggests that increased knowledge of the language does not necessarily result in increased social use (see Casesnoves Ferrer & Sankoff, 2004). At a community level Castilian is the dominant language, and for learners of Valencian it remains the more secure option.

Bilingual speakers tend to adapt their language practices according to the linguistic background of their interlocutor, and when faced with an unknown interlocutor, bilingual speakers, such as respondent C11 (male, fifties, teacher), tend to use Castilian as the default language.

*'Si són desconeguts, normalment intente parlar en castellà, si no saps.'*

*(If they are a stranger, normally I try to speak in Castilian, if you don't know).*

Respondent D2 (female, forties, fishmonger) reported similar practices explaining that she uses Castilian in such contexts because she cannot be sure that her interlocutor speaks Valencian. Similarly, respondent D12 (female, fifties, retired teacher) stated that she would always avoid using Valencian with strangers.

*'Sempre en castellà. Sempre preguntaria en castellà, que és costum. Crec que no seria natural, una persona que no conec en mig del poble i dirigisc-me en valencià! Ho faria en castellà.'*

*(Always in Castilian. I would always ask in Castilian, it's normal. I don't think that it would be natural, for me to address somebody that I don't know in the middle of the village in Valencian! I would do it in Castilian.)*

The preference for Castilian with unknown interlocutors was reflected in responses from those who answered the questionnaire in both Valencian and Castilian (see Figures 18 and 19). This practice reflects the dominance of Castilian in the community repertoire since Valencian tends to be reserved for known interlocutors, and thus, suggests social intimacy (Jaffe, 1999).

Figure 18: Language choice with strangers amongst respondents in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa who answered the questionnaire in Valencian

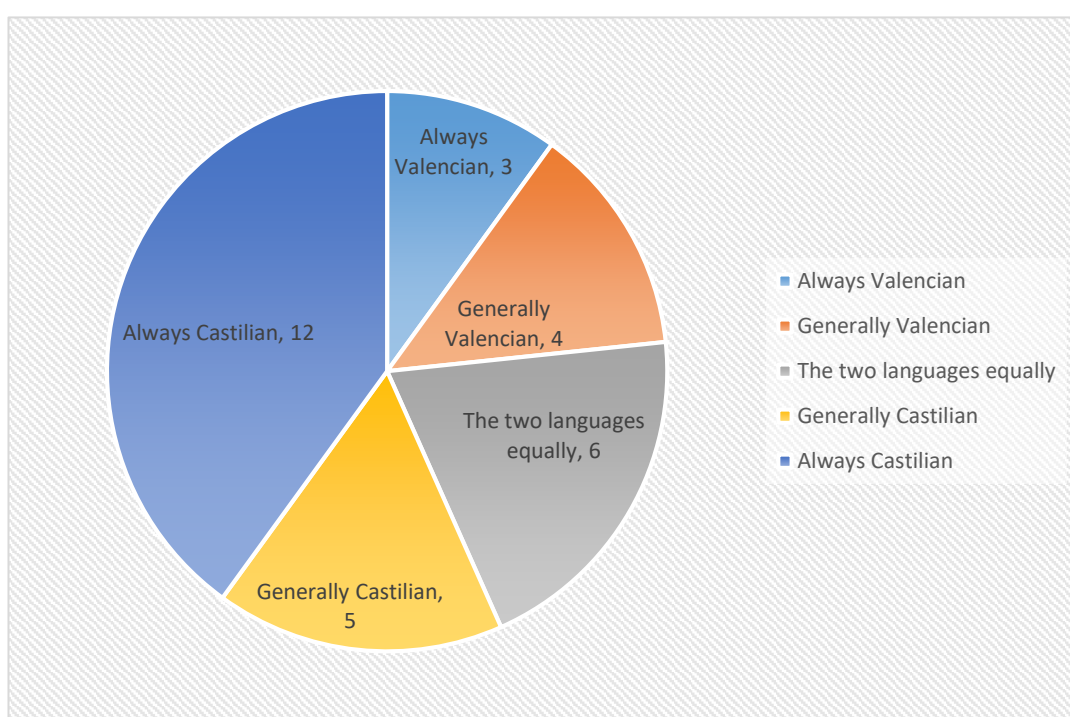
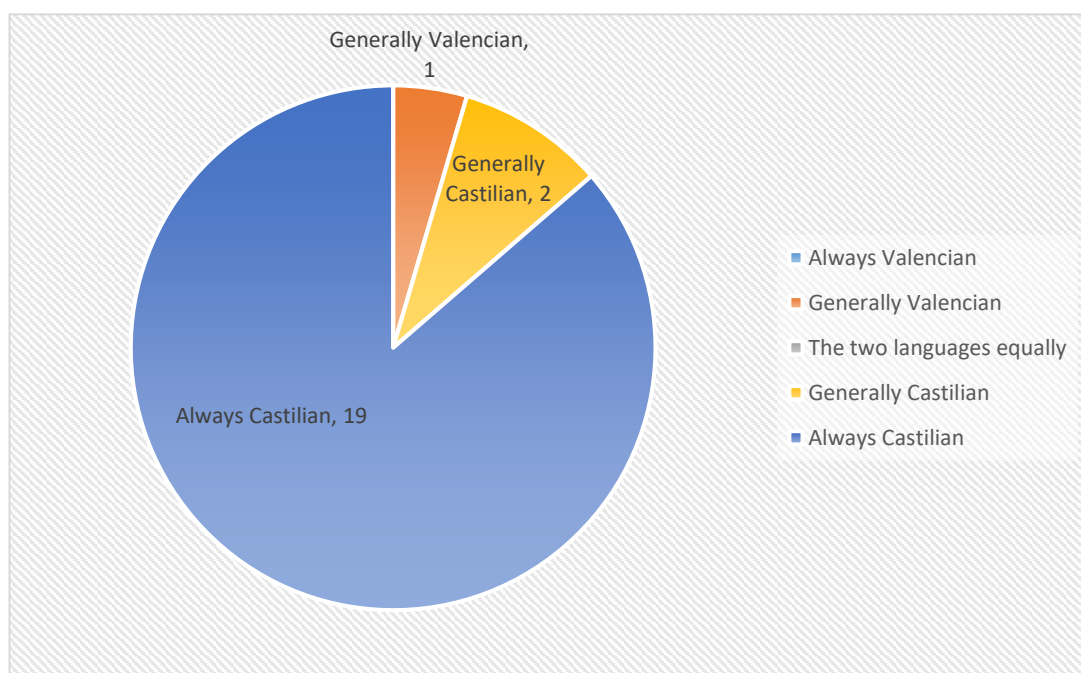


Figure 19: Language choice with strangers amongst respondents in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa who answered the questionnaire in Castilian



As a result of the previous circumstances discussed in chapter three, Castilian remains more accessible than Valencian. As such, Castilian maintains the dominant position in the community repertoire, despite the shared equal status of Castilian and Valencian. Additionally, there is a widely held belief that to use Valencian with strangers is impolite. Respondents frequently made reference to *educació* (Valencian) or *educación* (Castilian), which may be translated as upbringing or courtesy, when discussing this issue. For example, respondent D11 (female, forties, housewife) was taught at school to use Castilian with people that she did not know and respondent C12 (female, thirties, maths tutor) was told by her mother that it was impolite to use Valencian with people if they did not use the language with her. Data collected for this study suggest, that this practice of reserving Valencian as a familiar language is an example of historical discourse that has been internalised and continues to influence language policy (see Albury, 2014).

Despite the influential concept of *educació*, discussions with some politically aware respondents indicate that they try to use Valencian as often as possible and exercise their right to use the language. Figure 18 reveals that three respondents, all of whom have a strong sense of political and linguistic awareness, choose to always

use Valencian with strangers. Respondents C2 (male, thirties, teacher), C5 (male, forties, self-employed) and C10 (female, forties, teacher) all prefer to initiate conversations in Valencian; however, they explain that they do switch to Castilian if they see that their interlocutor has difficulties understanding. As discussed earlier, new speaker respondent C14 (male, forties, lecturer) has positioned himself as a language activist and authority. He answered that he generally uses Valencian with strangers because he likes to use Valencian as often as he can and in recent times he has started to greet people in Valencian and will continue the conversation in either Castilian or Valencian according to their reaction. Their behaviour is unusual and may be perceived as marked in certain contexts (Jaffe: 1999). Respondents C20 (female, forties, tutor and writer) also generally uses Valencian with strangers; however, she admitted that although Valencian is now permitted across all domains, using it has caused tension on occasion and led her to feel uncomfortable. She explained that this discomfort is due not to her own linguistic competence, but rather the way that some interlocutors receive her use of Valencian.

Using Valencian with strangers no longer has dangerous repercussions, as it did during the dictatorship when the public use of non-Castilian languages was prohibited (see chapter three). However, it is still perceived by many as ill-mannered and disrespectful to use Valencian with someone if their linguistic background has not been revealed. As such, Castilian tends to be used with unknown interlocutors to avoid any embarrassment, suggesting that previous language beliefs remain influential. This was commented upon by participant B4 (male, fifties, manager) who explained that in the bank he would speak to the cashier in Castilian simply because usually he does not know them or their linguistic background. He acknowledged that this practice may result in him using Castilian with a habitual Valencian speaker and that such practices limit Valencian use. Yet, whilst respondent B4 opts to use Castilian in the bank, due to the unknown background of the cashier, respondent C6 (male, thirties, teacher/translator) and respondent D12 (female, fifties, retired teacher) reported that they always use Valencian in the bank because the staff are known to them as Valencian speakers. Respondent C11 (male, fifties, teacher) shared a similar

experience in terms of choosing between Valencian and Castilian according to the background of the interlocutor.

‘Si hi ha gent que conec, en valencià directament. Normalment a que conec sí. Coneixes als empleats.’

*(If there are people [working in the bank] that I know, in Valencian immediately. Normally with those that I know, yes. You know the employees).*

This study suggests that language choice amongst bilingual speakers very much depends on the interlocutor, and whether they are known to be a Valencian-speaker, rather than the formality of the situation as in cases of diglossia (Ferguson, 1959). Respondents commented that they would reply to an individual in the same language that the interlocutor initiated a conversation. During the fieldwork process it emerged that people such as bank cashiers, post office staff, shop keepers and market stall holders are important figures and points of contact in the community. Therefore, when entering such establishments, the speaker communicates with the individual, rather than the business, and chooses their language practices accordingly. Figures 20 and 21 indicate respondents’ language practices in local shops and Figures 22 and 23 show language use in shopping centres. Comparing the two settings reveals how language practices differ according to the perceived familiarity of the setting and the individuals encountered there. Questionnaire responses suggest that people are more likely to use Valencian in local shops, where the shop assistant and their linguistic background is known, than in shopping centres where staff, and their linguistic preferences, are not likely to be known to customers.



Figure 20: Language choice in local shops amongst respondents in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa who answered the questionnaire in Valencian

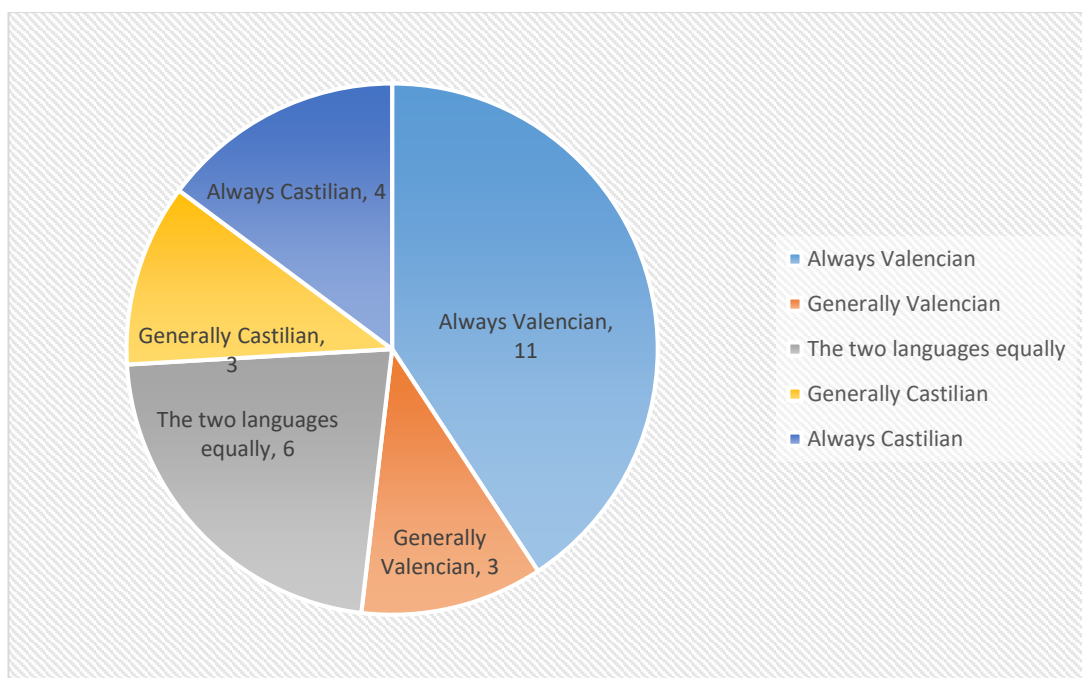
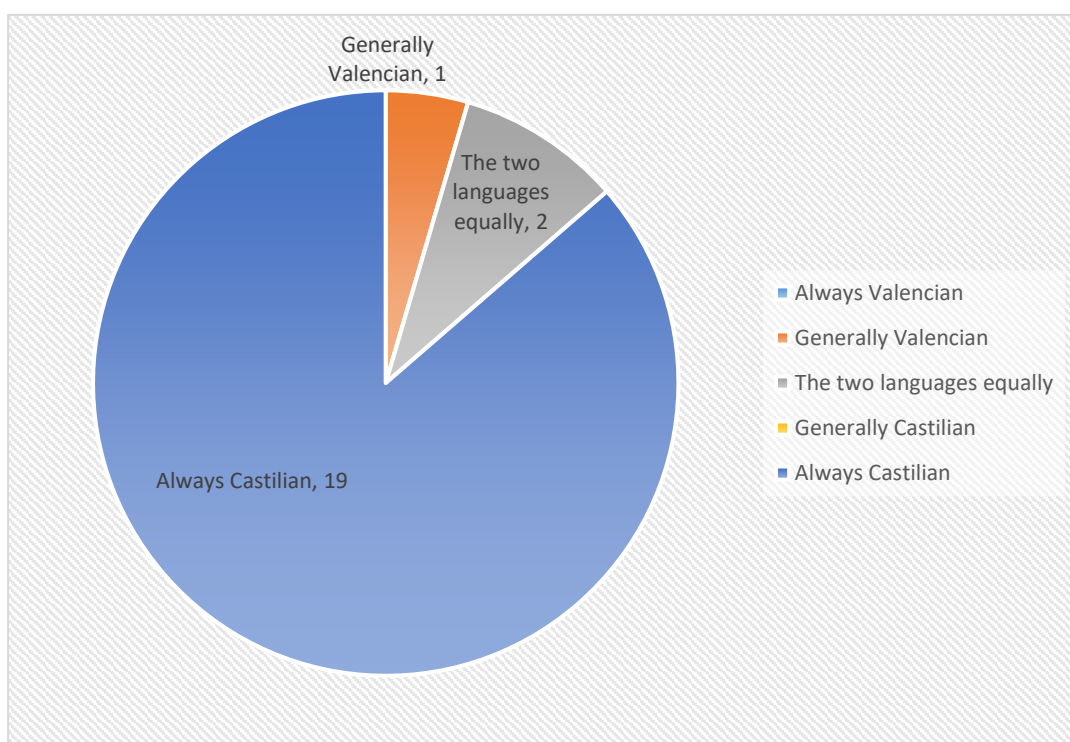


Figure 21: Language choice in local shops amongst respondents in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa who answered the questionnaire in Castilian



Respondents C12 (female, thirties, maths tutor) and D11 (female, forties, housewife) commented that in local shops they switch between Valencian and Castilian according to the linguistic background of the individual. However, in shopping centres they always use Castilian. Respondent D11 explained that she uses Castilian in this setting because she does not know the staff. In many cases, respondents who use Valencian in such contexts commented that they have an established relationship with the individual because often they have known each other for a long time. As such, their use of Valencian suggests closeness or social intimacy and Jaffe (1999) describes similar practices in Corsica. Phrases ‘gent de tota la vida’ and ‘gent del poble’ were regularly used as an explanation for using Valencian, and as is discussed later, these phrases were frequently heard during data collection and have implications for identity debates. In contrast, Castilian tends to be the preferred language choice in shopping centres, where respondents are less likely to know the individual shop assistants (see Figures 22 and 23).

Figure 22: Language choice in shopping centres amongst respondents in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa who answered the questionnaire in Valencian

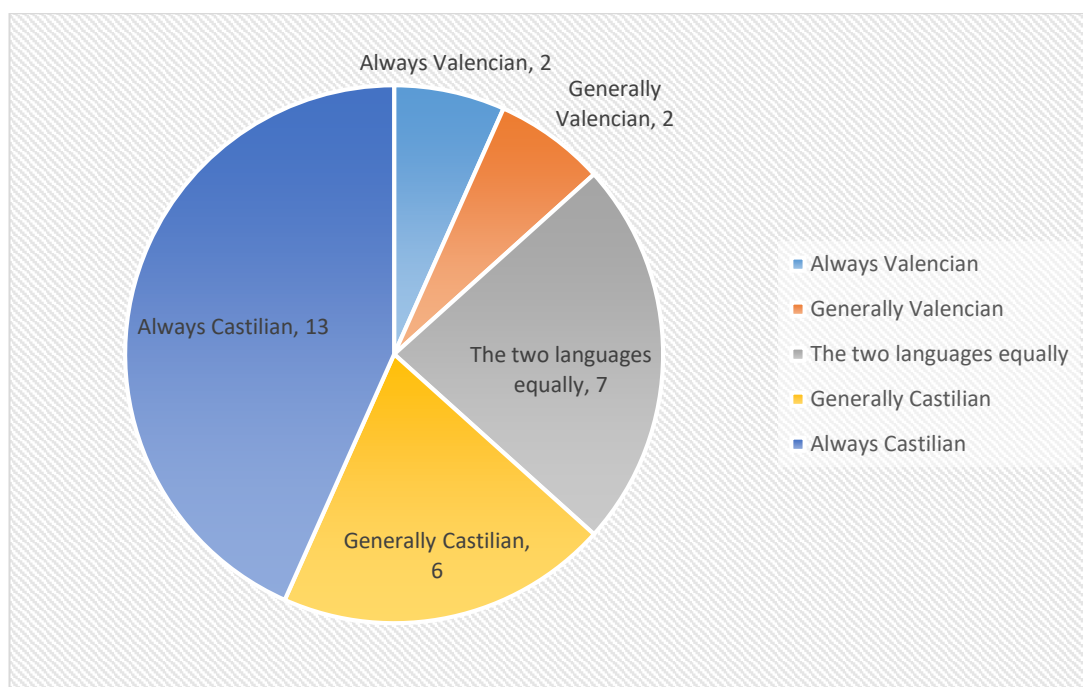
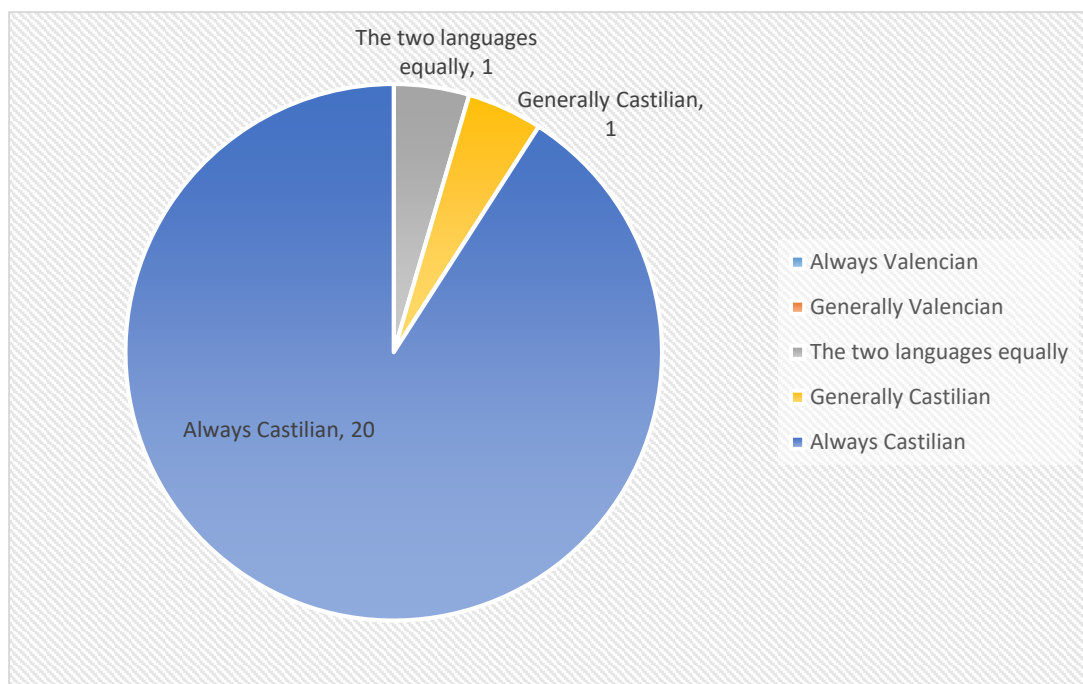


Figure 23: Language choice in shopping centres amongst respondents in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa who answered the questionnaire in Castilian



Whilst this study suggests that it is the relationship with the interlocutor, rather than the domain, that influences language choice, several bilingual respondents revealed that they would opt to use Valencian in public institutions, regardless of whether they know the interlocutor. Respondents C11 (male, fifties, teacher), C12 (female, thirties, maths tutor), D11 (female, forties, housewife), and D12 (female, fifties, retired teacher) all reported that they would use Valencian in public institutions, such as the town hall or library, despite the fact that they would use Castilian with unknown interlocutors. The presence of a minority language in the public sphere represents the final stages of the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (Fishman, 1991: 395) discussed in chapter two, and Fishman suggests that is only attempted once language maintenance at lower levels has been achieved. However, May (2001: 163) places emphasis on the institutionalisation of a minority language if it is to survive in the modern world. When asked to explain their decision to use Valencian in such contexts, respondents commented that since they are public institutions they have a responsibility to promote the regional language. As such, certain speakers choose to exert their language rights (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006) and

they expect staff to fulfil this duty and use Valencian with them. However, whilst some respondents do use Valencian in public institutions, questionnaire responses reveal that Castilian is the preferred language choice in such contexts, particularly amongst those who answered the questionnaire in Castilian (see Figures 24 and 25).

Figure 24: Language choice in public offices amongst respondents in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa who answered the questionnaire in Valencian

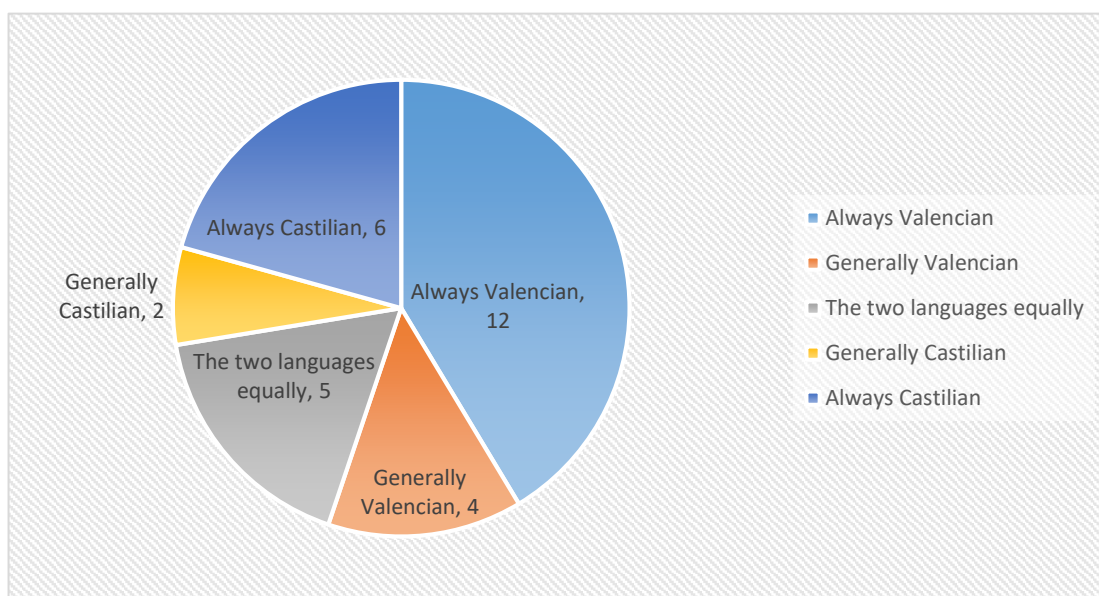
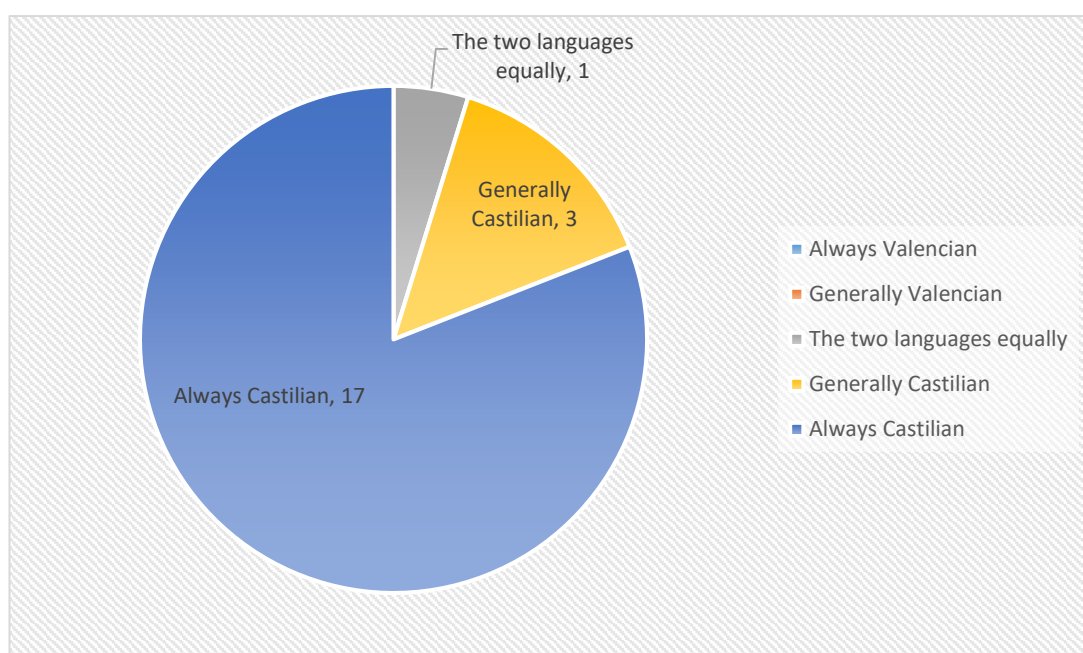


Figure 25: Language choice in public offices amongst respondents in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa who answered the questionnaire in Castilian



### 5.2.3 The Composition of the Community Repertoire

This study reveals that despite Castilian and Valencian's co-official status, Castilian tends to hold the dominant position in the community repertoire. Past circumstances, such as language access and internalised beliefs continue to influence current language policy, and thus, Castilian remains more accessible than Valencian. Furthermore, fieldwork data suggest that Castilian remains the default language of communication at a community level. Therefore, current circumstances suggest that a hierarchy between Castilian and Valencian persists; however, unlike the nine strict categories of diglossia proposed by Ferguson (1959), the boundaries between Castilian and Valencian have blurred and there is often an overlap between language varieties in informal spheres. For example, Ferguson notes that the high variety is used in writing and formal speech but it is not used for everyday conversation (1959: 336). As discussed in chapter two, Ferguson's definition of diglossia is strict and languages and their domains are compartmentalised. Ferguson describes diglossia as a stable societal phenomenon. Informed by Ferguson's work, García (2013) suggests the term *transglossia* to reflect a more fluid hierarchy between two or more languages at societal level. However, whilst García's work recognises the dynamic nature of language, her definition does not entirely reflect the sociolinguistic setting in Alicante. For example, not all speakers have access to Castilian and Valencian, and therefore, not all speakers are in a position to negotiate the hierarchical sociolinguistic setting that exists.

In this research context, Castilian has spread to domains traditionally associated with Valencian, such as the home. Thus, as in cases of *dilalia*, the high language is used by a large section of the population for ordinary daily conversation, and both Valencian and Castilian are available for everyday communication (Berruto, 1989a: 14). Additionally, as a result of language acquisition planning, Valencian has spread to contexts where Castilian was traditionally used, and this phenomenon and its implications for wider language policy are discussed later in this chapter. As will become apparent in this chapter, whereas *transglossia* is a fluid condition which occurs at societal level, *dilalia* is a dynamic process which operates at an individual

level. As such, to an extent, dilalia reflects the nuanced and multi-layered language policy which exists in Alicante.

As discussed in chapter three, Castilian has spread into domains previously occupied by Valencian and this process of language shift accelerated during the dictatorship period. Consequently, Castilian has become the default language of communication at community level whilst Valencian's role has become more restricted. Thus, as has been discussed, for some respondents, Castilian is the only language available to them in their repertoire. Therefore, it is their habitual language of communication, and today, it is possible to function as a monolingual Castilian speaker. However, respondents with access to both languages are able to choose which language to use according to the circumstances, and this study suggests that bilingual speakers tend to accommodate their language practices according to their interlocutor.

Berruto's theory of dilalia considers the spread of the high language variety to new domains, as has been observed in this research context; however, his framework does not make reference to the spread of the low variety to new functions. Following the implementation of language legislation, Valencian is now present in the school system and the public sphere, where previously only Castilian was permitted. Furthermore, Valencian acquisition is now possible through formal education and is no longer restricted to intergenerational transmission. As such, just as Castilian has spread to domains previously linked with Valencian, such as the home, the role of Valencian has also extended. This change in circumstances since the transition adds a further layer of complexity to current language policy in Alicante. Therefore, just as Ferguson's work of diglossia has been expanded and redefined over the years, Berruto's theory of dilalia also needs to be reconsidered.

As has already been discussed, Ferguson's nine categories of diglossia no longer reflect current circumstances because multilingual contexts have evolved considerably. For instance, when Ferguson was writing, literacy, migration and mass media, were not commonplace, or as influential as they are today. Equally, although more recent, Berruto's framework does not take into account revitalisation

programmes and efforts to raise the status of minority languages in the European context such as the introduction of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in 1992 (see Grin, 2003). Thus, whilst Berruto's theory acknowledges the extension of the high language to new domains, the spread of the low language to spheres usually only associated with the high language is not considered.

Due to such developments, it is perhaps necessary to propose a new term to describe the circumstances observed in Alicante since the original meaning of diglossia and dilalia should not be distorted. In fact, Berruto (1989b) expressed concern that the original meaning of diglossia had been lost through continued modification to reflect various speech communities. Thus, having analysed fieldwork data collected for this study, it is proposed that 'bidirectional dilalia' is perhaps a more appropriate way of labelling the relationship between Castilian and Valencian. This new definition implies the spread of both languages to new domains, whereas dilalia only considers a one way advancement of the use of the high variety. Like dilalia, bidirectional dilalia occurs at an individual level since only those who have Valencian and Castilian in their linguistic repertoire are in a position to make choices about their use of both languages. Unlike dilalia, which only considers the advancement of the 'high' language variety to a new domain, such as the home, bidirectional dilalia implies the spread of two language varieties to new contexts. In this way, the spread of Castilian to become an everyday language of communication is recognised, as is the advancement of Valencian to new public spheres, such as education and administration. Such developments are the result of recent changing circumstances, following the transition to democracy and the subsequent implementation of language legislation.

It is hoped that proposing 'bidirectional dilalia' as an extension of Berruto's original work will enable this term to be assessed with reference to other contexts where language revitalisation programmes have resulted in a change to the relationship between language varieties which were previously positioned in a hierarchy. In this way, bidirectional dilalia reflects recent efforts to revitalise regional minority languages and the implications for local language policy. At present, in the context of Alicante, the spread of Castilian and Valencian to new domains is

unbalanced due to individuals' varied linguistic backgrounds and experiences. However, as the sociolinguistic setting develops, the concept of bidirectional dilalia will also perhaps evolve to reflect changing circumstances.

### 5.3 Valencian Identities

Just as the range of speaker profiles and diverse linguistic trajectories inform the composition of linguistic repertoires, such variety has implications for the construction and perception of Valencian identity. Fieldwork data revealed a close connection between language and identity, and the perception and construction of identity is rooted in language beliefs, one of the components of Spolsky's tripartite framework of language policy (2004). Therefore, identity debates contribute to the complex nature of local language policy since it is informed by the wide range of linguistic backgrounds and experiences of speakers, which contribute to varying language management, practices and beliefs.

#### 5.3.1 Conceptions of Valencian Identity

This study suggests that there is not one single Valencian identity, but rather multiple and overlapping Valencian identities reflect the various backgrounds of members of the community. As such, individuals may perform different identities and participate in various communities of practice (Eckert, 2000; 2006). For example, as has already been discussed, some speakers' knowledge of Valencian is limited to the language classroom and they remain habitual Castilian speakers in other contexts. Later in this chapter, a typology representing the different identities is presented in an attempt to understand and interpret how the various identity groups interact and intersect. Yet, despite a dynamic view of identity which enables the presence of multiple and overlapping identities (see Blommaert, 2005; Joseph, 2005) fieldwork data indicate that an essentialist view of identity also remains influential in identity debates and that both models are employed in othering processes. As will be discussed, this tension between the two conceptions of identity is perhaps to an extent similar to that observed in Catalonia, where the characteristics of language and culture have symbolic meaning despite the promotion of an inclusive civic model of identity (Castells, 2010: 51).



During data collection, 'place' and 'language' were regularly reproduced in vernacular discourse as important components of Valencian identity. These concepts are closely linked and both are influential in the formulation of identity according to both dynamic and essentialist conceptions of identity (Freeland & Patrick, 2004: 5). Tullio-Altan (1995: 19-32) cited in Luraghi (2008:10) lists five symbolic complexes which he considers to represent the ideal ethnic group (epos, ethos, logos, genos and topos). Two of the components, 'logos' and 'topos', refer to the importance of territory and language in the construction of identity. Similarly, despite the promotion of a civic view of Catalan identity and belonging, Guibernau (2004: 30) identifies five clusters of emotional arguments, which emphasise a sentiment of belonging and are often referenced in Catalan nationalist discourse (language, culture, history, territory and art). As will become apparent, changes to the accessibility of Valencian following the transition to democracy mean that just as the position of languages in the linguistic repertoires is shifting, so too is the role of language and place in identity debates. Questionnaire responses suggest that in the Valencian context, the value attached to 'place' and 'language' varies and is shifting as Valencian becomes more accessible, which results in multiple and intersecting identities. Whilst some groups perceive these components as inherent identity features, others view them as characteristics that can be acquired following social and political change. As such, some groups, in particular new speakers, consider 'place' as a facilitator to language learning, which in turn enables cultural participation. However, others, such as traditional speakers, perceive attachment to place as an inherent component of identity. In this way, territorial ties are perceived as an indicator that an individual is a Valencian speaker, and thus, using Valencian may be a means of performing one's local identity.

In legal terms, being 'Valencian' is based upon residency and represents a civic, rather than deterministic, model of belonging. According to article 3.1 of the Valencian Statute of Autonomy, anyone who lives in the region can choose to be Valencian if they wish.

For the purposes of this Statute, all Spanish citizens legally resident or who gain legal residence in any of the municipalities of the Valencian Community enjoy the political status of Valencians (Corts Valencianes, 1983).

This political view of Valencian identity makes no reference to inherent language or territorial ties to the region. As such, it is an identity that may be acquired and one does not have to be born in the Valencian Community and be a Valencian speaker to be Valencian. Yet, in spite of this civic definition, vernacular discourse continues to attach significance to the concepts of ‘place’ and ‘language’ in the construction and perception of Valencian identity, which suggests a close link between these components as consolidated discourse of identity markers and historical product. Similarly, Catalonia’s legal definition of being Catalan also presents an inclusive view of identity; nonetheless, vernacular discourse still places emphasis on language in the construction and perception of identity.

Although Catalan nationalists define as a Catalan whoever lives and works in *Catalunya*, they also add “and wants to be a Catalan”. And the sign of “wanting to be” is speaking the language, or trying to (in fact, “trying to” is even better because it is a real sign of willingness to be) (Castells, 2010: 52).

As such, whilst one can choose to become Catalan, the Catalan language is still perceived as an important component of Catalan identity. However, language is not interpreted as an essential or inherent component of Catalan identity, instead it may be acquired. In this way, once someone learns Catalan, they may be considered Catalan, which suggests that perceptions of identity construction are evolving as the acquisition of minority languages, such as Catalan or Valencian, develops.

### 5.3.2 Language-Based Identities: Valencians and Castilians

Whilst fieldwork data indicates that ‘place’ is particularly endowed with ethnogenetic power, language is perhaps a more salient characteristic of identity, and this study suggests that language-based identities are regularly assigned according to the habitual language of the speaker. Thus, habitual Valencian speakers are described as ‘Valencians’ and habitual Castilian speakers are labelled as ‘Castilians’. Woolard (1989) describes similar language-determined identities in Catalonia, where people whose native and habitual language is Catalan are described

in vernacular discourse as Catalans. Likewise, those whose native and habitual language is Castilian are Castilians, regardless of their region of origin (Woolard, 1989: 43). In a later work, Woolard (2008a: 191) explains how her fieldwork respondents in Barcelona regularly transformed her questions about Castilian speakers (*castellanoparlants*) and Catalan speakers (*catalanoparlants*) into discussions about Castilians (*castellans*) and Catalans (*catalans*). The reference to language-determined identities in vernacular discourse indicates that language and identity are not easily separated. Additionally, as has already been discussed, the perceived linguistic identity of an interlocutor influences language choices amongst bilingual speakers. If interlocutors are recognised as Valencians, then Valencian is used, if this information is not known then Castilian is employed. Therefore, whilst language is not the only component of identity, it is perhaps the most obvious, and consequently, habitual language practices are commented upon regularly and employed in othering processes. When considering language-based identities in the Catalan context, it should also be noted that in Catalonia, the pejorative term *xarnego* (in Catalan) or *charnego* (in Castilian) may also be used to describe non-Catalan speaking residents (see Candel, 1964; 1973 for a definition of the term and its evolution). *Xarnego* is a derogatory term and makes particular reference to non-Catalan speaking migrants with a working-class background (Woolard, 1989: 42). In contrast, the Castilian identity, although a language-determined identity, does not carry connotations of ethnicity or social class.

Habitual Valencian speakers, who may be described as Valencians, also have access to Castilian (Casesnoves Ferrer & Sankoff, 2004: 4), and therefore, they are in a position to choose between their languages and perform identities through both languages (Blommaert, 2005: 210). As previously discussed, the linguistic background of the interlocutor is an influential factor in choosing language practices amongst those with access to Castilian and Valencian. As such, the reduction of identity to a single category of language does not necessarily explain language decisions or how languages may be used to enact various identities. However, the existence of such language-based identities does reveal the symbolic significance of language in identity construction. Respondent C9 (female, forties, teacher) is a habitual

Valencian speaker, who lives in Banyeres de Mariola, the town where she was born, and she commutes each day to Sant Vicent del Raspeig for work. A discussion about language practices revealed how respondent C9 assigns identity according to the habitual language of an individual.

‘La meua metgessa [anterior] era valenciana i parlàvem en valencià. Ara ha canviat i és castellana i ara parlarem en castellà segurament.’

*(My [previous] doctor was Valencian and we spoke in Valencian. Now the doctor has changed and she is Castilian and now we will probably speak in Castilian.)*

Similarly, respondent D16 (female, fifties, cleaner), who is also a habitual Valencian speaker, explained how she has neighbours who are ‘Castilian’ and others who are ‘Valencian’, and that she modifies her language practices accordingly.

‘Hi ha valencians i castellans. Als valencians els parle en valencià i als castellans parle en castellà.’

*(There are Valencians and Castilians. I speak to the Valencians in Valencian and I speak to the Castilians in Castilian.)*

These comments indicate that identities may be attributed solely on the habitual language practices of an individual, suggesting that language may be interpreted as a principal feature of identity. Indeed, Tabouret-Keller notes ‘the link between language and identity is often so strong that a single feature of language use suffices to identify someone’s membership in a given group’ (1997: 317). Equally, bilingual speakers, such as respondents C9 and D16, are able to draw upon their linguistic repertoire to adapt their language practices according to their interlocutor. In this way, they can perform Valencian and Castilian identities through their language use.

The assigning of language-determined identities was also observed amongst habitual Castilian speakers, suggesting that out-group perceptions can be just as influential, or perhaps more influential, than in-group perceptions. Respondent C22 (female, 18-20, sixth form student) is from Sant Vicent del Raspeig and her habitual

language is Castilian, the language she grew up speaking. However, she also has access to Valencian in her linguistic repertoire as she is obliged to study it at school for the *bachillerato* qualification. Her comments also demonstrate the assigning of identity according to the habitual language of an individual and indicate that an individual's habitual language is perceived as a key component of identity.

‘Tengo amigos valencianos, y sí, de vez en cuando lo uso.’

*(I have Valencian friends, and yes, sometimes I use it [Valencian].)*

The existence of such language-determined identities suggests that language is employed as a boundary-making device and that Castilians and Valencians are viewed as separate identity groups due to their different habitual language practices.

However, whilst language was regularly referenced in discussions of identity, the reduction of identity to the single category of language does not encapsulate fully the complexity of Valencian identities. Although fieldwork data revealed that language is an important component of identity, Valencian identity is more elaborate than being simply language orientated. This is illustrated in Figures 26 and 27 when respondents were asked whether it is necessary to speak Valencian to be Valencian. Responses suggest that whilst the Valencian language is perceived as an important component of identity, it is not considered essential to speak it to belong to the Valencian identity, nor is the language the sole component of Valencian identity. This view was particularly prominent amongst those who answered the questionnaire in Castilian. Respondent C15 (male, 18-20, sixth form student) is a habitual Castilian speaker and he disagreed with the statement that it is necessary to speak Valencian to be Valencian.

‘Yo me siento valenciano. No hablo valenciano asiduamente y me considero valenciano.’

*(I feel Valencian. I don't speak Valencian regularly and I feel Valencian.)*

Respondent C10 (female, forties, teacher) who is a habitual Valencian speaker gave her thoughts and suggested that different people have different views on the subject

of language of identity. Whilst she answered that it is necessary to speak Valencian to be Valencian, she acknowledged that not everyone shares this view.

‘Jo sé que hi ha molta gent que diu que és valenciana i no parla la llengua. És una qüestió més personal. A nivell meu, jo em considera Valenciana i parle valencià.’

*(I know that there lots of people who say that they are Valencian and don't speak the language. It is more of a personal question. Personally, I consider myself Valencian and I speak Valencian.)*

Figure 26: ‘Is it necessary to speak Valencian to be Valencian?’ according to respondents in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa who answered the questionnaire in Valencian

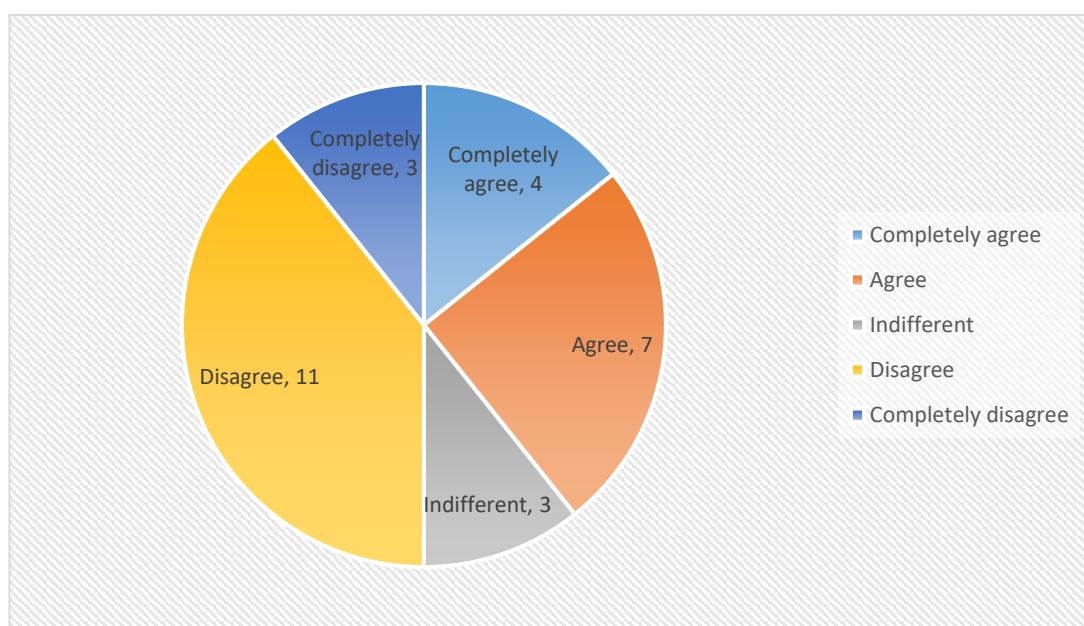
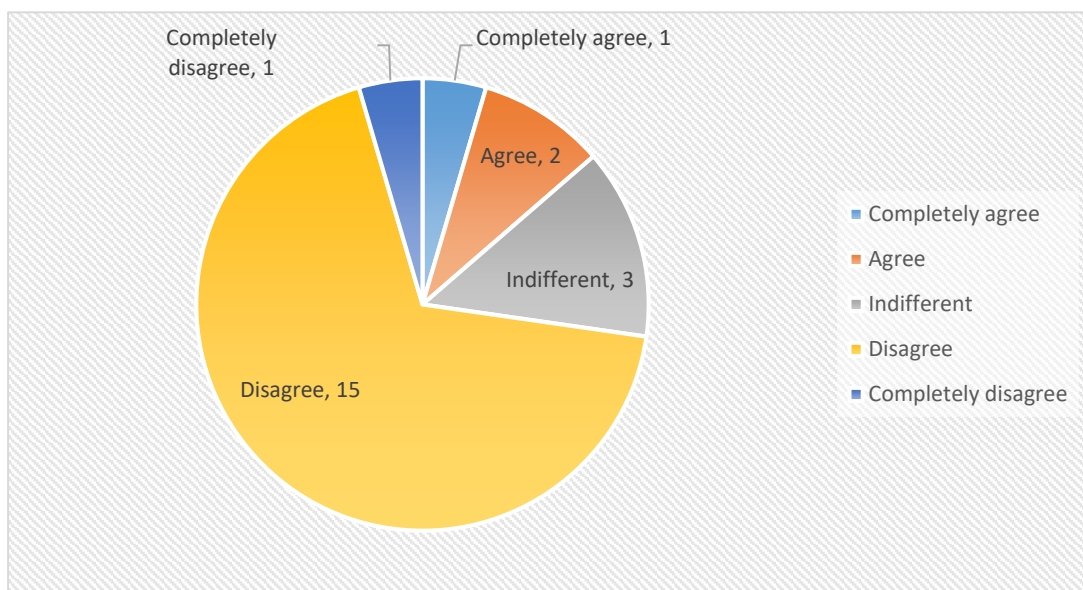


Figure 27: 'Is it necessary to speak Valencian to be Valencian?' according to respondents in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa who answered the questionnaire in Castilian



Despite the legal definition of Valencian identity offering a civic model of identity and belonging, vernacular discourse continues to place importance on language in the construction of Valencian identity, as show in Figures 28 and 29. However, this study suggests that language is not the only component of identity and respondent C2 (male, thirties, teacher) commented that Valencian identity comprises more than just language.

‘Ser valencià és una actitud, no és una condició lingüística.’

*(Being Valencian is an attitude, not a linguistic condition.)*

Moreover, the increased accessibility of Valencian and the changing profile of the Valencian speaker are also adding to the complexity of the Valencian identity. Therefore, positioning language as the sole component of identity is limiting because it does not take into account other characteristics, such as the perceived importance of ‘place’, that are also influential in the construction and perception of Valencian identity.

Figure 28: 'Valencian is an important part of our identity' according to respondents in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa who answered the questionnaire in Valencian

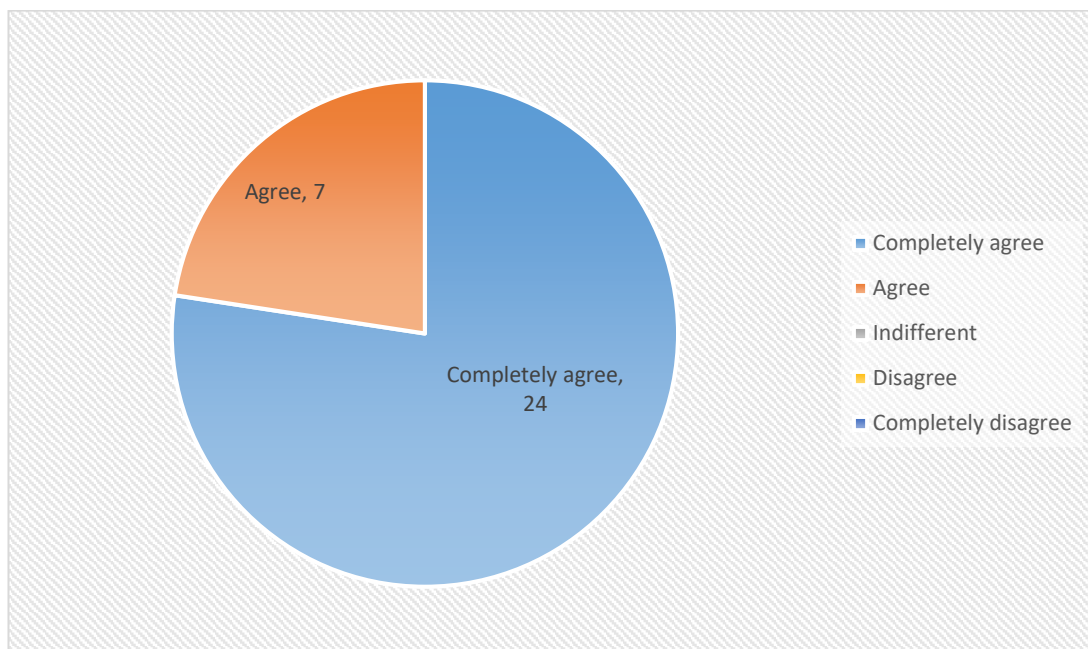
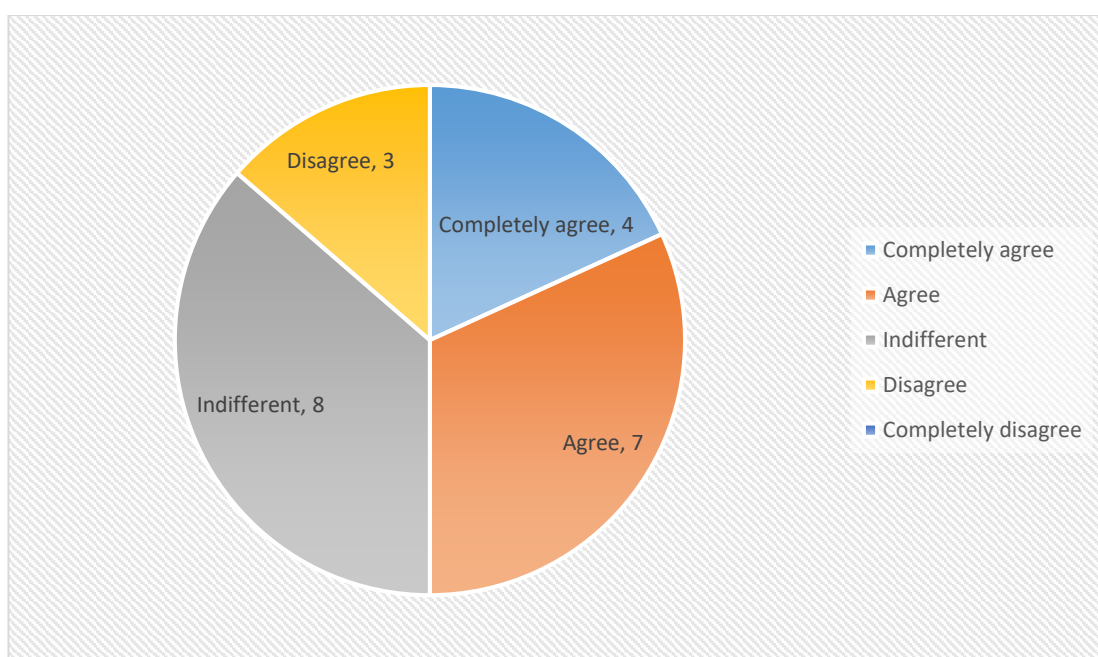


Figure 29: 'Valencian is an important part of our identity' according to respondents in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa who answered the questionnaire in Castilian





### 5.3.3 Gent del poble

As discussed in chapter four, a valuable aspect of the methodology chosen for this project is that the qualitative aspect of data collection. This gave respondents the opportunity to talk freely and provide extra detail, which allowed themes to develop to be pursued in the analysis. During data collection, respondents frequently referred to *gent del poble* (in Valencian), or *gente del pueblo* (in Castilian), and made the assumption that such individuals have a long association with Sant Vicent del Raspeig or La Vila Joiosa, and therefore, are Valencian speakers. Such comments suggest that vernacular discourse assigns a great deal of importance to the concept of place, as well as language, in the construction and perception of identity. This term is also employed by a respondent in a study of Sant Vicent del Raspeig conducted by Montoya and Mas (2011: 275) and carries similar connotations. Initially, the meaning of these expressions seemed self-explanatory because *poble* and *pueblo* may be translated into English as town or village and *gent* and *gente* may be translated as people. As such, a simple conclusion could be that *gent del poble* or *gente del pueblo* are people from the town or village. However, *poble* and *pueblo* have multiple interpretations which make understanding the meaning of the terms more complex. Whilst the terms may describe a locality, such as a town or village, they can also have a regional or ethnic interpretation and refer to its inhabitants. For example, according to Sanchis Guarner's (1933: 9) model of a territorialised view of Valencian identity, he personifies *el poble* by discussing its personality based around geographical, historical, economic and cultural features. Therefore, fieldwork data suggest that *gent del poble* refers to the autochthonous members of the community: those whose families have a long association with the town, prior to its expansion and population growth. *Gent del poble* are perceived to be habitual Valencian speakers who have grown up alongside others in similar circumstances. They have a shared sense of belonging with those who also possess the core characteristics of this identity.

Now that traditional Valencian speakers represent a smaller section of the towns' population than previously due to population growth, belonging to this group has particularly powerful and emotive connotations and is perceived as an indicator of authentic local identity. Members of the in-group employed powerful and

symbolic vocabulary in discussions about Valencian identity, suggesting a strong sense of unity with individuals from a similar background. Respondent C2 (male, thirties, teacher) was born in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and was brought up speaking Valencian. He still lives in the town and Valencian continues to be his habitual language with close family and friends. His comments suggest that some members of the in-group associate a sense of distinction and solidarity with their identity.

‘Entre nosaltres ens comuniquem en la nostra llengua.’

*(Amongst ourselves we communicate in our language.)*

‘En este poble és una llengua de prestigi perquè hi ha un determinat sector de la població que considera que parlar valencià és un signe de pertinença al poble.’

*(In this town it is a prestigious language because there is a certain sector of the population that considers speaking Valencian to be a sign of belonging to the town.)*

Respondent C2 believes that belonging to this group is now considered prestigious amongst members because Valencian is an indicator of identity and symbolises a sense of belonging. The *gent del poble* consider these characteristics to be inherent, and they are able to articulate their local identity and sense of belonging through their use of Valencian with other group members. They view their identity as exclusive and promote this view in othering processes. This positive view towards their language and identity perhaps reflects changes to the official status of Valencian following the transition to democracy as attitudes towards minority languages, such as Valencian, are gradually improving. However, the stigmatisation of Valencian speakers promoted during the Franco era also continues to be reproduced by some members of the out-group, which suggests that beliefs about Valencian and its speakers vary, which in turn contributes to a complex language policy.

Comments about the significance of *poble* and *pueblo* as an identity marker and indicator of language practices were made by habitual speakers of both Valencian and Castilian, which suggests that they are recognised as a distinct identity

group. Like respondent C2, respondent D10 (female, twenties, postgraduate student) is a habitual Valencian speaker with a long family connection to her town. She explained that being from the same background as her neighbours, and having known them for a long time, she uses Valencian to communicate with them.

‘Són veïns de tota la vida, del poble i parlen valencià.’

*(They have always been our neighbours, they’re from the town and speak Valencian.)*

A long association with the town was regularly referenced as an indicator that an individual is a Valencian speaker, even if the term *gent del poble* was not specifically referenced. When asked if he was a Valencian speaker, respondent D7 (male, forties, currently unemployed) replied ‘Sóc d’ací’, (I am from here) suggesting that place and language are inextricably linked and that being from La Vila is an indicator that someone is a Valencian speaker. Equally, respondent C23 (female, thirties, cleaner) has always lived in Sant Vicent del Raspeig but was raised in a Castilian-speaking home as her parents were originally from monolingual areas of Spain. She also recognised the presence of this identity group and referenced it when discussing language use at the local shops.

‘Si son de aquí del pueblo, sí que a lo mejor te hablan en valenciano.’

*(If they are from here, from the town, they do perhaps speak to you in Valencian.)*

This may suggest that out-group observations are also significant in the construction and perception of this identity and that the *gent del poble* represent a separate and exclusive sector of the local population.

Respondent C19 (female, fifties, secretary), like respondent C23, has always lived in Sant Vicent del Raspeig. She is a habitual Castilian speaker, having grown up in a Castilian-speaking family. She recognises that *gent del poble* have their own culture and identity and she views the group positively. She explained that she would like to integrate more in local culture and that she is learning Valencian in her spare

time. In addition to cultural advantages, she recognises that knowledge of Valencian may be of professional benefit since she works as a secretary in a school where the language is valued. Commenting upon her language learning, she noted that she believes that it is important to try and use the Valencian language no matter one's ability in order to 'intentar y participar, conocer la cultura del pueblo' (to try and participate, to get to know the town's culture.) Thus, whilst the in-group view their language and attachment to the town as inherent characteristics, respondent C19's comments reveal that language acquisition may be a way of entering and participating in this identity, which may suggest an element of civic membership on the part of the out-group. As discussed earlier, following the transition to democracy, there are now more opportunities to access Valencian through formal learning. Such changes have implications for perceptions of identity, and also local language policy. This was commented upon by respondent D14 (female, twenties, unemployed) who noted that acquiring the language is like any other in that it may open the door to more opportunities and that anyone can learn Valencian.

'Todo el mundo puede hablar valenciano.'

*(Everyone can speak Valencian.)*

Therefore, living in an area of linguistic predominance offers the opportunity to acquire the language, which is viewed by some as a means of entry to cultural participation. Respondent C21 (male, forties, lecturer) is a self-taught Valencian speaker and he also commented on the cultural advantages of knowing Valencian. Although he grew up in Alicante city speaking Castilian, he now regularly uses Valencian and Castilian, adapting his language practices according to the interlocutor. Echoing comments made by respondent C19, he believes that using Valencian enables him to integrate and participate in local culture:

'Primero, para sentirme más alicantino. Segundo, porque cuando voy a lugares donde se habla valenciano, siento que me integro mucho más, es mucho más completa la experiencia cuando habla en valenciano.'

*(First, to feel more alicantino. Second, because when I go to places where they speak Valencian, I feel as though I integrate much more, the experience is much more complete when you speak in Valencian.)*

The notion that using Valencian evokes of sense of feeling *alicantino* reiterates the close connection between place and language, which can be articulated when using the language. Additionally, respondent C21's comments suggest that access to Valencian facilitates cultural integration and enables him to perform a local identity (Blommaert, 2005: 207; Joseph, 2009: 4). Respondent D6 (male, twenties, unemployed) also suggested that learning Valencian can aid integration and contribute to a feeling of belonging. Having moved to La Vila Joiosa five years ago from Italy with his Argentinian parents, he explained how learning Valencian has helped him to make friends, some of whom are Valencian speakers.

‘Cuando sabes la lengua del sitio, es más fácil hacer amistades y relacionarte con la gente.’

*(When you know the language of the place, it is easier to make friends and to get to know people.)*

These comments indicate the close connection between place and language as perceived components of identity in vernacular discourse. This coincides with the views of Freeland and Patrick who note that ‘language often becomes inseparably associated with a territorially bounded identity in a relationship that takes language, territory, and identity to be isomorphic’ (2004: 5). However, whilst fieldwork responses suggest the importance of these components in identity perception and construction, the value attached to ‘place’ and ‘language’ varies and is evolving in response to changes to language acquisition. Whilst the concepts of place and language may be perceived as essential characteristics of Valencian identity, particularly amongst the in-group, the comments and experiences of respondents who were raised as Castilian speakers and later learnt Valencian suggest a civic or voluntaristic view of regional belonging. They perceive the Valencian language and territorial ties as characteristics of identity that one can acquire rather than inherit. For example, respondent D6 considers La Vila Joiosa and Valencian to be closely

linked, and therefore, learning the language is a good way of integrating. As such, the fact that he does not have a long association to the town does not exclude him from being a Valencian speaker, rather his newly acquired attachment to La Vila Joiosa enables him to study the language and participate in local culture.

The idea that Valencian enables participation in Valencian culture was also commented upon by those who had been denied access to Valencian due to their upbringing during Franco's dictatorship. Respondent C24 (female, fifties, cleaner) was raised in Alicante city in a Castilian-speaking family and fifteen years ago she moved to Sant Vicent del Raspeig, where she also works. Her comments suggest a sense of regret since she identifies herself as *alicantina*, which again indicates the significance of place in identity construction; however, she feels excluded from local identity and cultural belonging because she did not have the opportunity to learn the local language.

'Me gustaría saber el valenciano, claro. Soy alicantina, me habría gustado, pero no he tenido la oportunidad de aprender.'

*(I would like to know Valencian, of course. I am alicantina, I would have liked [to know Valencian] but I have not had the opportunity to learn.)*

Such varied vernacular discourses, resulting from internalised ideologies and changes to Valencian acquisition, have implications in terms of perceptions and constructions of identity. These contrasting views suggest a tension between essentialist and dynamic conceptions of identity, and that the values attached to the fundamental components of place and language vary according to the identity group. Thus, the co-existence of a range of speaker profiles and multiple and intersecting identity groups reflects considerable social and political change and contributes to complex local language policy.

Whilst this study indicates that the *gent del poble* may be interpreted in a positive manner by the in-group and some members of the out-group, on other occasions fieldwork comments revealed that younger habitual Castilian speakers use *gente del pueblo* to describe those who live in rural, more isolated locations away

from the town, where Valencian is still commonly used. This interpretation is perhaps less favourable and implies that the language is perceived as being limited to rural contexts and that it is less useful in urban environments, where Castilian now dominates. Such claims reflect the stigmatisation of regional languages and their speakers by Franco's regime (Guibernau, 2004: 36; Mar Molinero, 2000b: 98). The consolidation of this ideology is manifested by comments made by several sixth form students from Sant Vicent del Raspeig who are habitual Castilian speakers and are obliged to study Valencian for their *bachillerato*. They did not experience the openly repressive measures of the regime; yet, they possess negative views of Valencian and its speakers, which exemplify this less favourable view of the *gent del poble* and Valencian. Respondent C17 (female, 18-20, sixth form student) believes that few people use Valencian.

'Casi nadie lo usa, sólo en los pueblos.'

*(Hardly anyone uses it, only in the villages).*

Similarly, respondent C16 (female, 18-20, sixth form student) stated Valencian was spoken in a few small villages.

'Lo hablan en pueblos reducidos, ¿no? Hay poquitos pueblos que lo hablan.'

*(They speak it in small villages don't they? There are only a few villages that speak it.)*

These respondents hold the belief that Valencian is used elsewhere, by other people, in limited rural contexts, and it is not present in urban environments such as their own. Another recurring comment amongst this group was that habitual Valencian speakers in Sant Vicent del Raspeig tend to be older members of the population, suggesting that amongst some younger habitual Castilian speakers, the association between Valencian and *pueblo* is a negative one. Respondent C16 (female, 18-20, sixth form student) believes that few people in Sant Vicent del Raspeig speak Valencian, and those that do tend to be older people.

‘Creo que la gente de aquí que hable valenciano son gente mayor o sus padres lo hablan. Creo que la mayoría no lo habla.’

*(I think that the people here who speak Valencian are elderly people, or their parents speak it. I think that the majority don't speak it.)*

This perception that Valencian is used elsewhere by others contributes to the dominant position held by Castilian in the community repertoire. Although these students have studied Valencian, their knowledge and use of the language does not reach beyond the classroom. This was noted by respondents C17 (female, 18-20, sixth form student) and C26 (male, 18-20, sixth form student) who observed that whilst Valencian is used in their school, people in Sant Vicent del Raspeig do not usually speak the language. Such claims reflect the systematic de-legitimisation of minority culture as anti-modern, for which Fishman (1991: 83) states that a good part of Western sociological research is responsible. In multilingual contexts, when a language is chosen as the national language, as was the case with Castilian in Spain, it becomes associated with modernity and progress. Conversely, minority languages, such as Valencian become associated with ‘tradition and obsolescence’ (May, 2001: 6). As exemplified in certain fieldwork responses, this is a stance that is maintained by some today, despite Castilian and Valencian now sharing equal official status. Therefore, whilst labelling a language as official can be symbolic, this action does not automatically change perceptions of the language in question (Stroud & Heugh, 2004: 199). Such language beliefs inform the sociolinguistic setting, which at present, does not reflect official language statements.

#### 5.3.4 The Changing Value of Valencian on the Local Linguistic Market

According to Bourdieu (1991), discourses and features of speech are evaluated and given a price on the linguistic market and certain features are awarded a higher value than others. Traditionally, minority languages have a lower price than majority languages due to their limited, local, utility. Thus, May (2004: 41) states that majority languages have instrumental value, whereas minority languages have sentimental value. The social utility of minority languages is usually restricted to local



markets; however, they may demand a higher value in such a context due to the authenticity, solidarity and attachment to place that they may evoke (Costa, 2015).

This study indicates that members of the Valencian identity take pride in belonging to this exclusive group as it is seen to symbolise an authentic local identity. Woolard (2008b: 304) notes how a language can acquire authenticity through its attachment to a particular place or anonymity if it comes from nowhere. Thus, for some, Valencian, in particular local varieties, carries connotations of legitimacy and authenticity due to its local ties in a way that Castilian cannot. Equally, Valencian may index familiarity or social intimacy, whilst Castilian represents 'just talk' (Woolard, 2008b). For example, as previously mentioned, some respondents proudly stated they speak La Vila Joiosa Valencian or Sant Vicent del Raspeig Valencian rather than the standard variety taught at school. Conversations with habitual Valencian speakers also revealed the high value that they attach to the language since it is a means of performing emotional ties to their town, family, friends and ancestors (Pavlenko, 2006). Respondent C32 (female, forties, nurse) became emotional when discussing how Valencian is the language that she uses with family and friends and the language has great sentimental value. Respondent D16 (female, fifties, cleaner) made reference to her long association with Valencian and she expressed ownership of the language.

‘És la meua llengua des de vaig nàixer i sempre la he parlat, sempre. Entonces m’agrada, és el meu, els meus orígens.’

*(It's been my language since I was born and I've always spoken it, always. So I like it, it's mine, my origins.)*

This perceived local value of a minority language again links to the concept of place. Using Valencian implies that an individual is local and its use is also perceived as a means of articulating one's attachment to the town.

Comments about the sentimental value of Valencian were not only made by habitual speakers of Valencian. Respondents, including those who are not habitual Valencian speakers, also expressed attachment to the language and the notion of

ownership, which again suggests the importance of language and place in perceptions of identity. This is reflected in Figures 30 and 31 when respondents were asked if they felt connected to Valencian. A close connection was expressed by those who answered in both languages, although this feeling was stronger amongst those who opted to complete the questionnaire in Valencian.

Figure 30: 'I feel connected to Valencian' according to respondents in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa who answered the questionnaire in Valencian

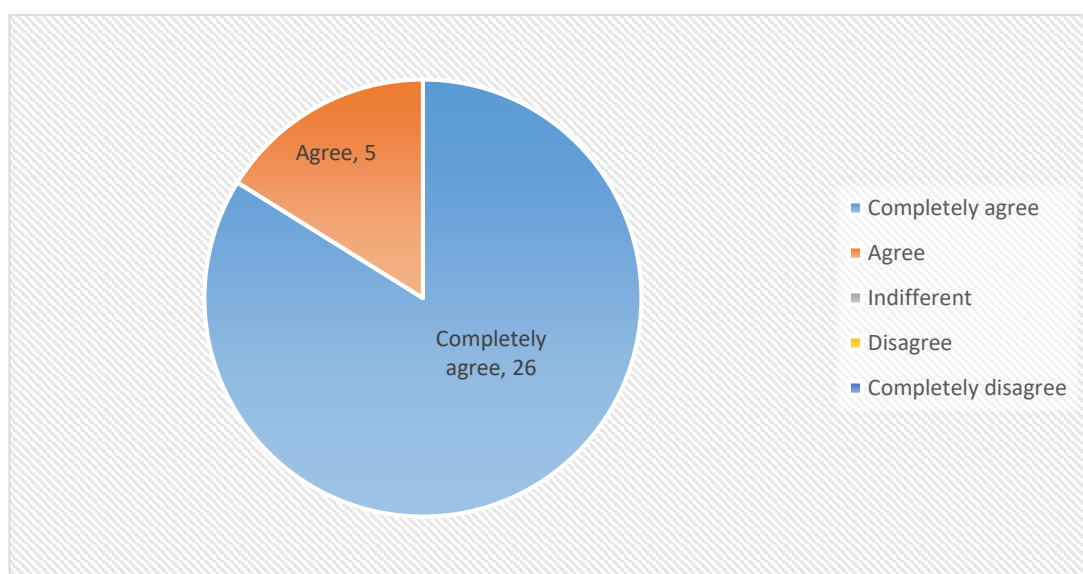
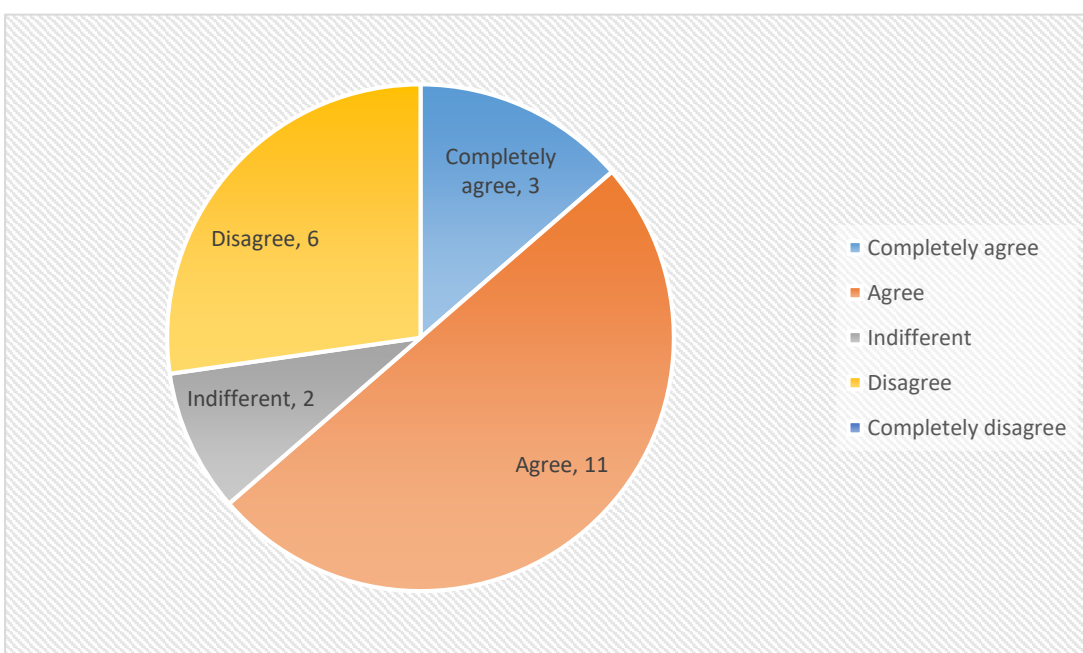


Figure 31: 'I feel connected to Valencian' according to respondents in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa who answered the questionnaire in Castilian



Respondent C1 (female, thirties, administrator) is a habitual Castilian speaker who explained that she uses Valencian no more than once a year. Yet, she answered ‘completely agree’ in response to the question and made reference to the historical value of Valencian and its link to the local area. Despite being a habitual Castilian speaker, her comments also suggest ownership of the language.

‘Porque fue una parte de nuestra historia porque desde siempre ha estado.  
Es una cosa nuestra.’

*(It was part of our history because it has always been here. It is ours.)*

Respondent C6 (male, thirties, teacher and translator), who was raised as a Castilian speaker but later adopted Valencian as his habitual language, also referenced historical and territorial links to Valencian.

‘És la nostra llengua des de fa molts segles.’

*(It has been our language for centuries.)*

Such remarks suggest that Valencian has a high sentimental value amongst speakers and non-speakers of the language. The language evokes symbolic ties to the local area, its history, culture and ancestors. Several comments implied ownership of the language and the idea that inhabitants and Valencian are connected due to their shared attachment to ‘place’. References to the significance of language, history, and territory, also correspond to three of the five clusters of emotional arguments identified by Guibernau (2004: 30) that contribute to the construction of Catalan identity and the five symbolic complexes shared by an ethnic group listed by Tullio-Altan (1995: 19-32). These clusters are easily transferable to the Valencian context and help to understand why Valencian has a symbolic value of unity for speakers and non-speakers alike. Valencian is not simply a communication tool but also a means of articulating a local identity. Equally, it fulfils a symbolic function by linking present day Valencians to their ancestors who lived on the same land and spoke the language.

Following the implementation of language legislation in the 1980s, Spain’s regional languages appear to be increasingly afforded instrumental value, in addition

to the sentimental value traditionally associated with these languages. As Valencian's value on the local linguistic market evolves, so do attitudes towards the language and questionnaire responses indicate that the acquisition of instrumental value contributes to diverse language beliefs. Respondent D6 (male, twenties, unemployed) is studying Valencian and considers that it may be useful for future work opportunities. He moved to La Vila Joiosa five years ago after living in Italy, and is a habitual speaker of Spanish (his parents are Argentinian) and Italian.

'Una tercera lengua, sí, cuando aprende una lengua se acuerda y si un día entras para un trabajo o algo, es un puntito más que puedes aportar.'

*(A third language, yes, when you learn a language you remember, and if one day you go for a job or something, it is an additional merit to your name.)*

Whilst knowledge of Valencian is not a duty as it is in Catalonia (see chapter three), the language is viewed as advantageous in some employment sectors, and as noted earlier, this fact was acknowledged by some respondents who were sixth form students and felt that their knowledge of Valencian could be useful in the future. Respondents C12 (female, thirties, maths tutor) and C13 (male, forties, archaeologist) are studying Valencian after being obliged to achieve a formal qualification in the language for their existing jobs. Respondent C13 grew up as a Castilian speaker in Alicante city, although his parents were Valencian speakers, and he reported a positive learning experience. In contrast, respondent C12 who grew up as a Valencian speaker in Sant Vicent del Raspeig expressed frustration that she is obliged to study Valencian. For her, Castilian has always been the language she associated with work and education, whilst Valencian was reserved for home and family use. When asked if she likes using Valencian she responded that she does; however, she does not agree with it being imposed upon people.

'A mi m'agrada utilitzar el valencià en l'àmbit en que l'utilitze. No m'agrada que m'imposen.'

*(I like using Valencian, in the environment in which I use it. I do not like how they are imposing it upon me.)*

When asked if she would like to use Valencian more often her response revealed a sense of frustration with the changing role of Valencian.

‘No, en desacord. Estic enfadada, és que amb el valencià estic enfadada...Perquè jo el utilitze en casa, m’agrada parlar-lo tot. Però jo tinc ara que passar un examen.’

*(No I disagree. I’m angry, it’s that I’m angry with Valencia...Because I use it at home, I like to speak Valencian and everything. But, now I have to pass an exam.)*

Being asked to prove her knowledge of Valencian through a formal examination has led to a sense of anger and alienation on the part of respondent C12. Similar frustration is reported by Ortega et al. (2015: 90) in the Basque context, where they note that the new valuation of minority languages as having instrumental value is perceived as a hindrance by some. Whilst the newly acquired instrumental value of Valencian has encouraged positive language beliefs amongst some, it can provoke frustration and negative beliefs amongst others. This range of attitudes results from the diverse backgrounds of speakers and contributes to a complex local language policy.

### 5.3.5 Gent de fora

As has been discussed, fieldwork revealed that one sector of the population is regularly described as *gent del poble* and they are assumed to be Valencian speakers. Vernacular discourse suggests that in Sant Vicent del Raspeig, those who are not part of this group are frequently labelled as *gent de fora* (in Valencian) or *gente de fuera* (in Castilian). This phrase can be translated into English as ‘people from outside of the town’ or ‘outsiders’. Equally, just as it is assumed that the *gent del poble* are Valencian speakers, it is frequently assumed that *gent de fora* do not speak Valencian and that Castilian is their habitual language. When talking about language practices with his doctor, respondent C6 (male, thirties, translator and teacher) made reference to *gent de fora* and the notion that they tend to be Castilian speakers.

‘No sé per què, és una persona a la qual normalment m’adrece en castellà. La majoria solen ser de fora.’

*(I’m not sure why, it’s a person that I would usually address in Castilian. The majority do not tend to come from around here.)*

Respondent C7 (female, fifties, shopkeeper) also make reference to this outsider group.

‘Aquí en esta zona hay mucha gente de fuera, entonces no es importante [el valenciano].’

*(Here in this area there are many outsiders, as such, Valencian is not important.)*

In addition to recognising the *gente de fuera* group, her comment suggests that despite the high value attributed to Valencian on the local linguistic market, the dominance of Castilian also makes Valencian less valued on the same linguistic market. Whilst Valencian can evoke local ties and social intimacy as discussed earlier, Castilian can be used with more people, and as such, in certain contexts it may be perceived as having a greater social utility.

Specific reference to *gent de fora* or *gente de fuera* was only made once during the administration of questionnaires with respondents in La Vila Joiosa, when respondent D15 (female, 18-20, student) explained that there are more *gente de fuera* than there used to be, and that they do not necessarily speak Valencian. This may suggest that language and place are perceived as having more significance as boundary markers in identity debates in Sant Vicent del Raspeig, perhaps because there are more ‘outsiders’ in Sant Vicent del Raspeig than La Vila Joiosa due to its larger population, as noted in chapter four. That said, although references to *gent de fora* or *gente de fuera* were less frequent in La Vila Joiosa, respondents still made a close link between language and place in terms of assigning identity and their choice of language. For example, respondent D7 (male, forties, currently unemployed) commented that he uses Valencian with local people and, having lived abroad, he would use another language with non-locals.

‘Si explique a una persona que és d’ací, pues valencià. Si no, pues una altra llengua.’

*(If I’m explaining something to someone from here, then Valencian. If not, then another language).*

Additionally, a number of respondents acknowledged that people move to La Vila Joiosa from beyond the Valencian Community, and therefore, they do not necessarily have access to Valencian.

Analysing fieldwork responses revealed that *gent de fora* or *gente de fuera* has a more complex meaning than simply referring to new arrivals. It also includes those whose families are not originally from Sant Vicent del Raspeig, and therefore, are not *gent del poble*. As such, this label appears to be employed to describe non-autochthonous members of the population regardless of when they arrived. As such, those whose families moved to the town in the 1960s to meet the needs of local industry, as discussed in chapter four, are still described as *gent de fora* by the *gent del poble* because they are unable to possess the characteristics, such as a shared language and attachment to the town, that the *gent del poble* perceive as inherent. These ‘outsiders’ are often assumed to be habitual Castilian speakers but this is not always so. For example, respondent C3 (male, forties, accountant) and his wife respondent C20 (female, forties, tutor and writer) are Valencian speakers originally from Ibi. They now live in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and are raising their children in the Valencian language. Respondent C20 acknowledged that outside influence, particularly the student population, can be beneficial to the vitality of Valencian in Sant Vicent del Raspeig. Respondent C10 (female, forties, teacher) is in a similar position as she grew up as a Valencian speaker in Tàrbena, but now lives, works, and raises her family, in Sant Vicent del Raspeig. She commented that the house next door is let out to students and that in recent years the occupants have all been Valencian speakers with whom she speaks Valencian. Whilst migration in the last sixty years has contributed to Castilian becoming the majority language in Sant Vicent del Raspeig, the town and the university also attract Valencian speaking residents from other parts of the region. Fieldwork conversations with such individuals suggest

that they consider themselves to have a positive influence on local language policy (Spolsky, 2004).

Yet, whilst some migrants are habitual Valencian speakers they cannot be said to belong to Sant Vicent del Raspeig's *gent de poble* group because their roots lie elsewhere. Their territorial attachment is not to Sant Vicent del Raspeig, but instead, they consider themselves to be *gent del poble* of their original town, the town of their family and ancestors. For example, respondents C3, C10 and C20 have lived in Sant Vicent del Raspeig for a number of years and are raising their own families in the town. However, during the questionnaires they referred to their *poble* as being the place where they grew up and still have family ties, rather than Sant Vicent del Raspeig. For example, respondent C10 left her home town at the age of eighteen; yet she still refers to it as '*el meu poble*' (my town), suggesting a continued emotional tie to her family and ancestors through a shared attachment to place and its language, history and culture. Therefore, the connection to an individual's home town remains strong, even amongst those who left many years ago and such ties to an area continue to be important in the construction and perception of identity.

#### 5.3.6 Multiple and Overlapping Identities: a typology of Valencian identities

This study reveals that language is perhaps the most salient feature of identity and that identities are regularly assigned according to habitual language practices. However, efforts to dilute distinct regional languages and cultures during the dictatorship and migration in the last sixty years mean that the Valencian identity, which vernacular discourse suggests describes habitual Valencian speakers, now represents a smaller sector of the population. Therefore, this group is perceived as exclusive and as representing core 'Valencianness' by members of the in-group and also some of the out-group. This contradicts the political definition of Valencian which is inclusive and open to all citizens of the Valencian Community. In contrast, the Castilian identity describes those whose habitual language is Castilian, and this group is the majority. Yet, whilst vernacular discourse assigns importance to language as a significant component of identity, identities are not only determined by habitual language practices. Instead, fieldwork data suggests additional and more complex identity groups and that other components, such as place, are also



employed in the perception and construction of identity. Furthermore, this study reveals that various groups attribute different values to these identity features, suggesting tension between internalised conceptions of 'language' and 'place' as essential components of Valencian identity and the enactment of multiple and overlapping dimensions of identity.

Analysing the data collected as part of this study prompted the development of a typology of Valencian identities in order to better understand and negotiate the various intersecting identities (see Figure 32). This typology provides a visual representation of the various Valencian identities that were observed and commented upon during data collection. This study suggests the presence of a complex network of identities as a result of changes to the local population, and also language acquisition. In turn, these changes have implications for the composition of linguistic repertoires and local language policy. The proposed typology of Valencian identities makes particular reference to Sant Vicent del Raspeig where greater distinction between identity groups appears to exist, perhaps due to the greater expansion and outside influence that it has experienced. The proposed graphic shows how the various identity groups coexist and interact with each other and it is hoped that it can be adapted to reflect circumstances in towns where similar processes of population growth and language revitalisation have occurred. It should also be noted that this typology reflects current circumstances and it is likely that the perception and construction of identity will continue to evolve, and as such, the relationship between the various groups will also alter.

Figure 32: Typology of Valencian identities



Within the complex web of Valencian identities, the position of *gent del poble*, *gent de fora* and *gente de fuera* have been considered. However, it is important to acknowledge that whilst the different identities represent distinct groups with boundaries employed in 'othering' processes, there is also regular interaction between the groups and a degree of overlap between the categories. It is for this reason that each group fades into the next. The overlap can occur at various levels and individuals can participate in various communities of practice (Eckert, 2006) and perform various identities (Blommaert, 2005; Joseph, 2009). For example, one can be *gent del poble* and Valencian, or *gent del poble* in one town and *gent de fora* in Sant Vicent del Raspeig. Furthermore, the intention is to demonstrate that Sant Vicent del Raspeig is not an isolated unit; instead, speakers move around, inside and outside of various communities of practice and interact with various identity groups.

At the heart of the town are the *gent del poble*, whose identity is considered prestigious and exclusive amongst members of this group. Membership of this group is based upon a shared set of characteristics, such as a shared language and attachment to place. Members of the in-group perceive these features as inherent. Whilst connection to place is an important component of this identity, language is perhaps the more evident characteristic and members of this group view using Valencian, their habitual language, as a means of enacting their local identity. The *gent del poble* are also considered to be a distinct identity group with its own culture by members of the out-group. However, perceptions of the *gent del poble* vary amongst the out-group. Although, some view the *gent del poble* favourably, others associate the group with negative characteristics promoted by Franco's regime, and consolidated by discourses of backwardness and tradition associated with minority language speakers.

The *gent de fora* are newcomers to the town but unlike the majority of migrants they are Valencian speakers. It is for this reason that the Valencian term is used to describe them. Like the *gent del poble* they are 'Valencians', however, they are not *gent del poble* because their roots lie away from Sant Vicent del Raspeig. They attach the emotional ties of language, culture and territory to the town of their family and ancestors and they are therefore *gent del poble* in their home town. Whilst not *gent del poble*, their presence in Sant Vicent del Raspeig is not to the detriment of the local language since they are Valencian speakers.

The *gente de fuera* are Castilian-speaking 'newcomers'. Even those who have been associated with Sant Vicent del Raspeig for several generations maintain this label since they are not *gent del poble* group due to the exclusive and deterministic features of this group. Unlike the *gent del poble* and *gent de fora*, they are 'Castilians' rather than 'Valencians' since Castilian is their habitual language. However, due to changes to the accessibility of Valencian since the transition to democracy, this group is now in a position to acquire Valencian. Therefore, unlike the *gent del poble*, they do not necessarily perceive 'place' and 'language' as inherent characteristics of identity. Instead, living in an area where Valencian is spoken, such as Sant Vicent del Raspeig, enables the acquisition of the language, and fieldwork data suggest that

some perceive acquiring Valencian as a facilitator to cultural participation. These individuals represent new speakers, who acquire a minority language through exposure outside of the traditional family environment (O'Rourke et al., 2015). Their presence in Sant Vicent del Raspeig challenges existing perceptions of the Valencian speaker and raises important issues in terms of linguistic authority, legitimacy, and entitlement.

At the edge of the diagram are speakers who are 'elsewhere', in other words, not within the town. This section reflects the stigmatisation of Valencian speakers that still exists, particularly amongst younger generations who are habitual Castilian speakers and obliged to study Valencian at school. Several youngsters commented that Valencian is used elsewhere by others and they do not associate Valencian with modern urban society. Such attitudes have consequences in terms of language maintenance (Fishman, 1991; 2001) and future language policy (Spolsky, 2004), since ingrained beliefs continue to be influential in the performance of language practices. Including such views in the typology allows Sant Vicent del Raspeig and the various identities present in the town to be positioned in a broader context. Since perceptions and constructions of identity are influenced by, and influence language policy, this is important, especially as current research advocates that language policy be analysed in the broadest possible context, where language agents' attitudes and opinions are fundamental.

#### 5.4 Valencian in the Audio-Visual Sphere

As has been discussed, language policy exists within a complex set of extra-linguistic factors. Therefore, to encapsulate and appreciate fully the range of language practices, beliefs and management that co-exist and intersect to inform language policy, the broader sociolinguistic setting, rather than simply language, needs to be considered (Spolsky, 2004: ix). To look at language only would be restricting and would not provide a full assessment of local language policy. Already, this chapter has examined the role of speakers and their contribution to the current sociolinguistic setting. Now, in order to provide analysis in a wider context, this section looks at external factors, and in particular, it considers the implications of the closure of the Valencian public broadcaster *Ràdio Televisió Valenciana* (RTVV) for

present and future language policy. As is considered shortly, RTVV began broadcasting in 1989 and operated for 24 years before closing in 2013 amid financial difficulties. However, as will be discussed, its closure had various political and linguistic implications, which in turn contribute to current language policy.

In November 2013, just prior to administering fieldwork questionnaires in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa, the *Generalitat Valenciana* closed RTVV after twenty-four years of operation. The *Generalitat* argued that in difficult economic circumstances, RTVV was no longer viable, and as such, the Valencian Community became the first, and so far only, autonomous community to lose its public regional broadcaster (see Crusafon, 2013). Transmissions of Catalan television and radio, which were carried for twenty years by transmitters installed by the cultural association *Acció Cultural País*, had already ended in February 2011, when the signal was blocked by the *Generalitat Valenciana*, who cited legal justifications (Toledo, 2011). The closure of RTVV, and the absence of a dedicated media service in the local language, represents a contradiction to official language legislation. Currently statements about the equality of Castilian and Valencian made in article 6.2 of the Valencian Statute of Autonomy (Corts Valencianes, 2006) are not reflected in the audio-visual landscape. Furthermore, the present situation no longer complies with article 25.1 of the *Llei d'Ús i Ensenyament del Valencià*, discussed in chapter three (Corts Valencianes, 1983), which outlines provision for both official languages in the media sphere and states that the council of the *Generalitat Valenciana* will safeguard Valencian so that it has an adequate presence on television and radio broadcasts and other media it manages.

There is debate as to whether minority language media can assist in language revitalisation efforts. Fishman (1991) expresses scepticism about the media's role in such projects and places minority language media provision at the final stage of his Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS), discussed in chapter two. However, at the time when he was writing, the media sphere was less developed than it is today and digital and online platforms were yet to emerge. In contrast, Grin and Vaillancourt (2003: 28) view minority language media more positively and suggest that television output in a minority language is likely to influence language

practices since watching television is daily activity for most people. Furthermore, whilst not specifically discussing the role of the media, May (2001: 163) argues that 'legitimation and institutionalisation of a language are the key to its long-term survival in the modern world' and Cormack (2007: 54) notes that media in a minority language may be interpreted as an indicator that a community is capable of participating in modern life. As such, establishing media in a minority language has powerful symbolic implications (Grin and Vaillancourt, 2003: 27) and Shohamy (2006: 110) notes that the presence, and therefore absence, of a language from the public space transmits a powerful message regarding its status. Thus, the absence of Valencian from the audio-visual sphere is noteworthy since it contradicts official language statements. Current circumstances allow Castilian to dominate, and as such, Valencian is marginalised in this context. The lack of Valencian is also significant because unlike printed or online media, audio-visual content is particularly accessible since it is transmitted directly into people's homes and its consumption does not require literacy. As discussed earlier, Franco's regime denied access to education in Valencian, resulting in unbalanced linguistic repertoires and the dominance of Castilian as the language of literacy for those educated prior to the transition to democracy. Therefore, this form of media was more convenient and accessible than others, such as print-media. Consequently, the withdrawal of Valencian from the public audio-visual sphere after twenty-four years is symbolic and fieldwork discussions suggest that the closure of RTVV has implications for current and future language policy.

The closure of RTVV was particularly timely for this research project. As part of the questionnaire into current language policy, this project intended to find out about respondents' language preferences in terms of media consumption in order to obtain a broad understanding of language practices. As such, questions were posed about language use when watching television and listening to the radio, and also the preferred language in each case (see Appendices 1,2,3 for copies of the questionnaire). The closure of RTVV took place after the fieldwork questionnaire had received ethical approval. However, it was decided to continue to ask the question and instead ask respondents to comment on their habits before and after the closure

of RTVV. This approach elicited many comments from respondents and suggest that the debate regarding media provision in Valencian has altered as a result of recent developments. Whereas previously some respondents were concerned about the content and quality of programmes offered by RTVV, now attention has turned to the absence of accessible television and radio provision in the regional language and the potential consequences for language policy. Data collected as part of this study also suggest that a linguistic citizenship approach may be valuable in this context (Stroud, 2001; Stroud & Heugh, 2004) and that language policy continues in a state of flux since developments following the closure of RTVV are ongoing.

#### 5.4.1 Overview of Valencian in the Audio-Visual Sphere

Media provision in Spain's regional languages was established gradually during the transition from dictatorship to democracy and was considered an important part of this process (Corominas Piulats, 2007: 169). Furthermore, establishing a media presence for languages that had been previously marginalised was a symbolic demonstration of their social value and utility (Crystal, 2000: 130; May, 2001: 163). A media model monopolised by *Radio Televisión Española* (RTVE) was carried forward into the post-dictatorship era and in the early years the dominance of state television and the Castilian language continued. However, the passing of the Third Channel Act in 1983 presented an opportunity for autonomous communities to set up their own public television channels, in addition to the two state channels already in existence (see Gifreu, 2011: 187). Catalonia and the Basque Country were particularly keen to create a channel in their respective regional languages and the first minority language television output was broadcast by the Basque station Euskal Telebista (ETB) in 1982. A second opportunity to add regional language channels emerged in 1988 with The Private Television Act (Gifreu, 2011: 187). However, Strubell and Boix-Fuster (2011: 4) comment that the presence of languages other than Castilian was not ensured, and as such, Castilian remained the main language of the media sphere.

As with other language matters examined in chapter three, the degree of initiative taken by autonomous communities after the creation of Third Channel Act, and the quality of content they delivered, varied according to regional governments

(Gifreu, 2011: 184). Whilst this degree of freedom allowed positive measures to be taken in Catalonia to support Catalan through the media (see Crameri, 2008), it also enabled the Valencian government to not involve itself in policies to promote the language (Gifreu, 2011: 184-185). As such, whilst Catalonia demonstrated political and public will with regard to the normalisation of the regional language, initiatives to revitalise Valencian received little top-down support, and as discussed in chapter three, academic literature questions whether the position adopted by the Valencian government hindered, rather than helped, language revitalisation (Gifreu, 2011; Pradilla Cardona, 2011).

In 1983, the *Generalitat de Catalunya* founded the *Corporació Catalana de Ràdio i Televisió* (CCRTV). In 2007, it was renamed *Corporació Catalana de Mitjans Audiovisuals* (CCMA). January 1984 saw regular broadcasts of its channel TV3 begin and in 1989 a second channel, Canal 33, was created. From the outset, the Catalan public broadcaster, which largely operates in Catalan, has been considered a success and TV3 has attracted large audiences (see Crameri, 2008). Catalonia's television and radio output is considered to have had a positive impact on language policy and Gifreu comments that 'without the CCRTV, and more particularly, TV3 and *Catalunya Ràdio*, Catalan would today be the heritage of a minority' (2011: 194). Under close control of the ruling political party *Convergència i Unió* (CiU) it aimed to provide professional and innovative content to compete with national channels (Corominas Piulats, 2007: 173). As Cormack (2007: 56) observes, viewers of minority language television are usually in multilingual contexts. Therefore, being able to offer a viable alternative to majority language channels is important because if the minority language output is not appealing to viewers, they can simply switch to the majority language. Not only was there a focus on high quality original content but also on the dubbing of popular import shows such as the American series 'Dallas' which was dubbed into Catalan after RTVE dropped the series (Crameri, 2008: 112).

The emergence of a third channel in the Valencian Community took a little longer. In 1984, a law was passed that saw the creation of *Ràdiotelevisió Valenciana* (RTVV). Its principal radio station, Ràdio 9, began broadcasting on 2<sup>nd</sup> October 1989, whilst its main television channel, Canal 9, began regular broadcasts a week later on



9th October 1989, coinciding with the Day of the Valencian Community. In the Balearic Islands, a public television station in Catalan was established in 2005. Whilst action taken by the *Generalitat de Catalunya* with regard to the development of Catalan media is widely praised, Gifreu describes policies concerning media provision of the Valencian (and Balearic) governments as ‘inconsistent and even aggressively unfavourable’ (2011: 194). Since minority language media is often financially unrewarding, channels frequently rely on government subsidies in order for media provision to succeed (Cormack, 2005: 108). However, when the *Partido Popular* (PP) came to power in the Valencian Community in 1995, funding for minority language television initiated by the *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (PSOE) ended (Gifreu, 2011: 193). In 2011, the PP blocked the signal for Catalanian television and radio, citing legal reasons, and in 2013, they took the decision to shut the station due to financial difficulties. As such, the audio-visual landscape in the Valencian Community has altered significantly in the last few years, which in turn has implications for language policy. At present, RTVE’s main television station La1 offers two local news bulletins per day of thirty minutes for the autonomous communities. The news programme for the Valencian Community, *L’Informatiu*, features a newsreader in the television studio who speaks in Valencian; however the individual news reports and outside broadcasts are in Castilian.

However, the media situation continues to develop, suggesting that the current position of Valencian in the media is not necessarily fixed, which in turn, may have implications for future language policy. In June 2015, a new socialist coalition government (*PSPV-PSOE-Compromís*) came to power in the Valencian Community, and they have expressed a commitment to re-launching the Valencian public broadcaster. In December 2015, the *Generalitat Valenciana* revoked the law that allowed the closure of RTVV, enabling them to once again have the power to provide television and radio services (Ferrandis, 2015). However, uncertainties about finances and technological equipment remain (Alfonso, 2016; Sanjuan, 2016), and so the future of a public broadcaster in Valencian remains uncertain at this stage. In May 2016, the *Cortes Valencianes* approved an initial law to create *La Corporació Valenciana de Mitjans de Comunicació* to replace RTVV (Ferrandis, 2016).

*Compromís*, *Podemos* and PSPV voted in favour of the new law, whilst the PP voted against. *Ciudadanos* abstained in objection to the decision that the new station would employ the same staff as before. It is hoped that the station, which is expected to have two channels and online content, will open before the end of 2016 (Maroto, 2016); however, this remains a situation in progress, and as such, the future remains unknown in this respect.

#### 5.4.2 Previous Debate: concern about the quality of Valencian output

Even before the closure of RTVV, media provision in Valencian was a topic of debate. There was criticism surrounding the lack of programme content in Valencian and accusations of political manipulation of the news in favour of the ruling PP (Crusafon, 2013; Ferrandis, 2014). These views are echoed in academic literature (see Strubell & Boix-Fuster, 2011; Gifreu, 2011) and popular discourse, as fieldwork revealed. This discontent was also reflected in viewing figures of less than 4% of the audience share in the region despite an annual budget of €60 million (Hamilos, 2013). However, discussing media consumption prior to the closure of RTVV with fieldwork respondents revealed that viewing and listening habits varied, as did attitudes towards RTVV. As is discussed here, some respondents, such as those with a Valencian-speaking background, or an interest in the language, had enjoyed the content offered by RTVV. However, others, such as those brought up in Castilian-speaking homes, did not and preferred to consume media offered by Castilian national channels. Additionally, several respondents, especially those with a high level of education and political awareness, stated that they had preferred Catalan television and radio rather than the Valencian offerings. This range of views and practices has implications for any future media provision, and also language policy.

Respondent C4 (female, thirties, administrator) grew up speaking Valencian with her mother and she explained that she preferred watching television in Valencian due to this connection. Her comments suggest that she enjoyed the closeness and familiarity of having the language she speaks with her family enter her home via the television:

‘Me gusta más, me parece como más familiar.’

*(I prefer it [Valencian television], it seems more familiar.)*

Amongst respondents who stated that they had watched television in Valencian when it was available, several commented that they had enjoyed the local dimension offered by the channel. Respondent C7 (female, fifties, shopkeeper) explained that she watched television in Valencian frequently when it was available and she commented that she enjoyed watching the local news.

‘Antes veía bastante la valenciana, las dos. Me gustaba ver las noticias de Valencia.’

*(Before I used to watch a lot of the Valencian [channel]. I liked seeing the news from Valencia.)*

A regional station is perhaps better placed to report on stories of local interest than a national channel; however, as is discussed later, the representation of the news on RTVV was subject to criticism due to allegations of political bias. Respondent D11 (female, forties, housewife) also commented that she enjoyed the local dimension offered by some programmes on Canal 9. However, she also commented that other programmes were in Castilian, which is discussed later in this chapter.

‘M’agradaven molt els documentals que feien sobre la natura, les tradicions, algun debat. Però normalment, les pel·lícules i tot, es posaven en castellà. Era una contradicció. Però un reportage de ‘El Interior de València’ o ‘El Parc Natural’, tots me encantaven.’

*(I really enjoyed documentaries that they make about nature, traditions, and debates. But normally, the films and everything were in Castilian. It was a contradiction. But a report about ‘The Interior of Valencia’ or ‘The Natural Park’, I loved.)*

Respondent D16 (female, fifties, cleaner) also watched Canal 9 when it was available. When asked if she enjoyed the programmes, she again mentioned the local aspect of the channel and the familiarity of her habitual language being used on television.

‘Sí perquè parlaven la meua llengua i fen [feien] coses que m’agradaven de pobles. Era interessant veure-ho. Però ara ja no tenim.’

*(Yes [I enjoyed it] because they spoke my language and they do [did] things about villages that I liked. It was interesting to see. But now we don’t have it.)*

As has already been noted, the notion of one’s own language was mentioned by a number of fieldwork respondents during data collection and has implications for identity. Respondents are keen to see their own language variety acknowledged and present in the media sphere, but as is discussed later, they do not necessarily identify with Catalan public broadcaster. The internalisation of ideologies of linguistic and territorial fragmentation, rather than language being perceived as a common component of identity (see Stroud & Heugh, 2004), has implications for identity debates, but also any potential future media provision, and therefore, language policy. Yet, a local perspective can offer valuable and relevant content to consumers of minority language media and contribute to a sense of imagined community (Anderson, 2006) since the whole region consumes the same media content. However, in contexts where television is used as a language revitalisation tool, such content must be managed well so that it can positively influence language policy and contribute with majority language services, rather than trivialise the minority language as was the case during the Franco dictatorship (see chapter three).

Other respondents who were studying Valencian commented that they had used RTVV for language practice. Thus, whilst some respondents watched certain programmes because they enjoyed the content, Valencian learners were attracted by the fact that this content was in Valencian, rather than Castilian. Respondent C13 (male, forties, archaeologist), who studies the language as a requirement for his work found Canal 9 to be a useful learning resource and also enjoyed the local aspect of the news.

‘Veia Canal 9 per practicar i perquè m’agradava saber les notícies d’ací, de la Comunitat.’

*(I used to watch Canal 9 to practise and because I liked to know the local news, from the [Valencian] Community.)*

Similarly, respondent C34 (female, fifties, dinner lady) who is also studying Valencian enjoyed Valencian television and radio and used it to practise the language. However, now that the service has closed, she is obliged to listen to the radio and watch television in Castilian. Respondent D6 (male, twenties, unemployed) also used the television to complement his Valencian studies, but now this option has gone. He watched football matches in Valencian and commented that when watching them he was able to practise his language in an enjoyable way.

‘Cuesta más porque tuve la tele, tuve algún programa de fútbol en valenciano y estuve viendo el partido y aprendiendo y te interesa más.’

*(It’s more difficult [practising Valencian], because I had the television, I had the odd football programme in Valencian and I was watching the match and learning, and it is more interesting for you.)*

In Catalonia, the decision to broadcast FC Barcelona matches with Catalan commentary was praised for encouraging language normalisation (Crameri, 2008: 112). It attracted audiences and demonstrated ‘the broad usefulness of a language that had for too long been artificially confined to domestic or high cultural domains’ (Crameri, 2008: 112). This example suggests that programme content, in addition to the language of the programme, attracts viewers. A regional channel like Canal 9 was well placed to show topics of specific regional interest, such as sport. However, to be successful a channel must also be profitable and the expenses incurred to buy the rights for sporting events were never matched by advertising revenue (Simón, 2012).

Respondent C21 (male, forties, lecturer) grew up as a Castilian speaker and learnt Valencian as an adult. Like the respondents discussed above, he also used the television as an additional learning tool; however, he did not enjoy the content of Canal 9 and preferred TV3 when it was available.

‘Era útil para mantener el valenciano correcto, no porque me gustaba. Yo veía más TV3 cuando se podía ver TV3. Yo veía TV3, el Canal 9 me parecía muy malo.’

*(It was useful for maintain correct Valencian, not because I liked it. I used to watch TV3 more when it was available. I watched TV3, Canal 9 did not seem very good to me.)*

A range of attitudes towards TV3 were recorded during data collection and are discussed later in this section. Whilst some respondents had enjoyed the content offered by Catalan television and radio, others, did not identify with the service due to the difference in language variety. As will be discussed, such views have implications for identity and also future language policy. Fieldwork data suggest conflict between those who favour territorial fragmentation and those who advocate a shared communicative space continue.

In addition to local segments on Canal 9, several respondents commented that they had watched cartoons in Valencian, either when they were children, or with younger members of their family. It should be noted that these respondents are from both Valencian and Castilian speaking backgrounds, suggesting, that content, as well as language, influence viewing habits. Respondent C2 (male, thirties, teacher), a habitual Valencian speaker, enjoyed watching Valencian cartoons with younger family members. C17 (female, 18-20, sixth form student) is a habitual Castilian speaker but she stated that she sometimes watched Valencian cartoons when she was younger and respondents C22 (female, 18-20, sixth form student) and C27 (female, thirties, cleaner), who were also raised as Castilian speakers, expressed similar views. Since cartoons tend to be aimed at children, they can be a useful means of familiarising younger members of the speech community with the minority language. Crystal (2000: 131) notes that in order for a language to progress, regular access is required. A media presence, particularly one aimed at children, is a means of doing this. In Castilian speaking homes, Valencian cartoons can introduce the minority language to children, and in homes where Valencian is spoken, television demonstrates another context where the language can be used, which therefore,

may influence language practices (Grin & Vaillancourt, 2003: 28). Whilst language practices may not alter, providing television content for younger viewers in a minority language may positively influence language beliefs. This view was proposed by respondent C11 (male, fifties, teacher) who felt that children's cartoons contributed to the normalisation of Valencian.

'Jo pense que per a normalitzar la llengua, la televisió és imprescindible i molts xiquets han après la llengua des de que veien els dibuixos animats quan començaven i que el valencià seria necessari i imprescindible en la televisió.'

*(I think that television is vital to normalise the language and lots of children have learnt the language from the cartoons that they watched when they started and that Valencian on television should be necessary and essential.)*

However, although RTVV was a Valencian public broadcaster, a subject of comment during fieldwork was that much of Canal 9's content was in Castilian rather than Valencian, which caused viewers to turn away from the channel. This transmitted a powerful message suggesting inferiority to Castilian and was interpreted by some as meaning that the authorities attach little importance to Valencian (see Shohamy, 2006). Therefore, whilst a programme's content is an important factor, the language in which it is broadcast is also perceived as significant, suggesting that the two components are intertwined in terms of influencing viewing habits. When asked about his viewing habits prior to the closure of RTVV respondent C6 (male, thirties, teacher and translator) explained that he did not watch Canal 9 due to concerns about its linguistic quality.

'De tota manera jo no era molt, jo no veia molt Canal 9. No era una televisió que m'agradava molt. Crec que la qualitat lingüística de Canal 9, no era per tot bona.'

*(In any case, I was not very, I did not watch Canal 9 very often. It was not a channel that I liked very much. I don't think that the linguistic quality of Canal 9 was at all good.)*

When asked about the amount of content in Valencian he stated:

‘La majoria de la programació en castellà. Realment en valencià hi havia una serie, els telediaris i poc més. Algun programa, però ...’

(The majority of programmes were in Castilian. Really, in Valencian there was the odd series, the news and little else. The odd programme, but...)

Cormack (2007: 56) notes that minority channels often feel economic pressure to gain more viewers and may opt to broadcast content in the majority language. Whilst broadening content may attract more potential viewers, and therefore, revenue through advertising, existing viewers may lose interest in a channel that is no longer serving their specific linguistic needs as minority language users. As such, if minority language channels are not managed well, they may contribute to further language shift to the majority language rather than language revitalisation.

Respondent C20 (female, forties, tutor and writer) also explained that she had not watched Valencian television when it was available. She watched television in Castilian due to it offering better quality programming.

‘Generalment en castellà per qüestions de qualitat. Quan hi havia televisió en valencià per qüestions de qualitat de programació.

*(Generally in Castilian for questions of quality. When there was television in Valencian for questions of the quality of programming.)*

When asked to clarify and whether she found Canal 9 uninteresting, respondent C20 replied that the programmes were not to her taste: ‘*Exactament, no era del meu gust.*’ As discussed earlier in the chapter, individuals with access to more than one language are able to make choices about their language practices. As such, they are in a position to choose in which language they consume audio-visual content, and since they understand Castilian and Valencian, content also influences their viewing and listening habits. Therefore, if minority language media is not well-received by audiences, it may detract from efforts to normalise the language, and instead contribute to further dominance of the majority language in the community



repertoire. Content that is perceived to be of poor quality and limited interest serves to reinforce the belief that the minority language has a restricted use, which has negative consequences for language policy.

In addition to concerns about content in Valencian, political bias towards the ruling PP (see Crusafon, 2013; Simón, 2012), emerged as a common reason why respondents did not watch Canal 9. Respondent C5 (male, forties, self-employed) enjoyed local aspects of channel such as programmes about local sport, festivals and the weather but he did not like the way in which the news was portrayed on Canal 9.

‘Era, com dir-lo, publicitat del partit polític que està en el govern.’

*(It was, let’s say, publicity for the political party that is in government.)*

Similarly, respondent C25 (female, twenties, student) commented that she did not watch Canal 9 for political reasons as she holds left-wing views.

‘La [la televisió] veia en castellà perquè Canal 9 no veia per temes polítics’.

*(I watched it [the television] in Castilian because I didn’t watch Canal 9 for political reasons.)*

Respondents who did not enjoy RTVV’s content, such as respondents C20 and C25, chose to watch Castilian television instead of Canal 9. Others, especially those who were politically aware and had a high level of education, commented that when it was available they had watched the Catalan television channel TV3. However, following the blocking of the signal, Catalan television is no longer available via regular transmission and individuals are obliged to watch Castilian television. TV3 is available via satellite and online; however, its absence from regular television makes it less accessible than previously, and as such, the language’s presence in the normal audio-visual sphere is reduced. This lack of choice, and the perceived imposition of Castilian, were frequently commented upon during data collection and are discussed later in this chapter. Respondent C29 (female, fifties, teacher) explained that her family had enjoyed TV3 before the signal was blocked because she disagreed with

the content on Canal 9. Now that the signal transmitters have closed, her family watch Catalan television via satellite.

‘Em semblava que les notícies, estaven manipulats, val? I els altres programes no em semblaven bons. Tots eran programes sense cap contingut cultural, sense cap atractiu per a mí. Nosaltres veiem sempre la TV3, però Fabra va decidir tallar la possibilitat de connectar amb la TV3, però nosaltres veim la TV3 per satèl·lit.’

*(It seemed to me that the news was biased, do you understand? And the other programmes did not seem good. They were all programmes without any cultural content, and there was nothing of interest for me. We used to always watch TV3 but Fabra [the former Valencian president] decided to remove the possibility of receiving TV3, but we watch via satellite.)*

Other respondents also explained that they did not agree with the political stance adopted by Canal 9, and instead, found that Catalan television and radio corresponded to their own views. Respondent C11 (male, fifties, teacher) explained that *Catalunya Ràdio* used to be his preferred radio station because he considered that it produced good quality programmes.

‘Escoltava molt Catalunya Ràdio, em pareïa una emissora molt interessant i de bona qualitat. Solia ser la emissora que utilitzava.’

*(I used to listen to Catalunya Radio a lot, it seemed to be an interesting and good quality station. It was the station that I usually listened to.)*

Thus, the perceived bias of Canal 9 meant that the minority language media, even when available, did not necessarily meet the needs of minority language speakers. As a result, they shifted to other language media output, not only the national Castilian channels, but also the Catalan public broadcaster. However, whilst the public Catalan broadcaster is perceived as a successful example of minority language media (Cormack, 2007: 52) it has also faced criticism for political bias, in particular for promoting a pro-independence agenda (Crameri, 2014: 104). To positively contribute to the revitalisation of a minority language, television must

strike a balance between general and specific appeal in order to attract as many viewers as possible but also to meet their particular needs. However, projecting the views of a political party limits the number of potential viewers and alienates those who do not share the same beliefs, which in turn may contribute to negative beliefs, and as such, influence language policy.

The complaints directed at RTVV during its existence suggest that the channel did not necessarily contribute to the normalisation of Valencian. Instead, it could be argued that it encouraged further shift to Castilian via other television channels. Fieldwork conversations revealed that respondents who did not enjoy the content offered by RTVV instead chose to consume audio-visual media in Castilian, or Catalan, when it was available. Whilst Catalonia's government is praised in academic literature for its involvement in media and language planning as a whole, the Valencian government is criticised for a lack of involvement, and Pradilla Cardona (2011) and Gifreu (2011) suggest that the lack of initiative shown by the Valencian government in setting up RTVV and their lack of interest in language revitalisation has shaped the current Valencian language media situation. Such attitudes allowed Castilian to continue to dominate in this sphere and Simón (2012) goes as far as to state that mismanagement by the PP led to the demise of Canal 9. Therefore, even when Valencian television provision existed, it faced criticism for not positively influencing language policy. However, now, following its removal, this criticism is aimed at the absence of a Valencian language channel and the possible consequences for language policy.

#### 5.4.3 Current Debate: absence of Valencian from the audio-visual sphere

The withdrawal of existing media provision in Valencian and the current non-compliance with top-down policy has symbolic implications for language policy. It could be said that the present situation implies that those in a position of authority attach little importance to Valencian. Shohamy (2006: 110) observes that the absence of a language from the public space transmits a powerful message regarding its status and May (2004: 47-48) proposes that if a language is to shake off its minority status, a public presence alongside the majority language is important. However, present circumstances allow Castilian to dominate in the audio-visual sphere whilst

Valencian is marginalised. This study reveals that respondents are concerned about the current lack of audio-visual media in the local language; for example, respondent C4 (female, thirties, administrator) considers that the closure of RTVV is already having noticeable effects.

‘Porque desde que han quitado Canal 9 se nota un montón.’

*(Since they closed Canal 9 it is very noticeable.)*

Additionally, C30 (female, forties, teacher) stated that the lack of Valencian television was likely to have a negative impact in the long term.

‘Han tancat el vehicle per a promocionar [promoure] el valencià, fonamental. El no tenir una televisió en la llengua [valenciana], a la llarga s’ha de notar moltíssim.’

*(They have closed the main means of promoting Valencian. Not having a television channel in the [Valencian] language, will have noticeable consequences in the long run.)*

As mentioned earlier, a number of respondents commented that following the closure of RTVV and the decision to block the signal for Catalan television and radio, they have been left with no choice other than to consume audio-visual media in Castilian. This is illustrated by Figures 33 and 34, when respondents were asked which language they use to watch the television, and Figures 35 and 36, when respondents were asked in which language they listen to the radio. Although it is possible to watch Catalan television via satellite or online streaming and radio stations in the language are available online, these mediums are not readily available to all, nor are they necessarily as convenient as consuming audio-visual media via traditional means. Thus, questionnaire responses reveal that respondents mostly watch television and listen to the radio in Castilian. This is the most not necessarily their preferred language, but rather the only option available as suggested by respondent C14 (male, forties, lecturer).

‘Ara com no puc triar, en castellà.’

*(No that I can't choose, in Castilian.)*

Similarly, respondent C10 explained that she is obliged to watch the television in Castilian. Although she did not watch Canal 9 regularly, she has lost the option to choose in which language to watch the television.

‘Castellà perquè no hi ha altre opció. Abans, és que jo no sóc de tele, no m’agrada massa. Abans també en castellà perquè el Canal 9, lo que veia era el oratge. És una cosa molt puntual i poc. Normalment en castellà perquè ací no tinc opció. M’agradava la TV3, però és que no la tenim.’

*(Castilian because there is no other option. Before, it's just that I'm not really one to watch the telly because I don't like it very much. Before [RTVV's closure] in Castilian also because I only watched the weather on Canal 9. It's something punctual and small. Normally in Castilian because I don't have another option. I liked TV3 but now we don't have it.)*

Figure 33: Language choice when watching television amongst respondents in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa who answered the questionnaire in Valencian

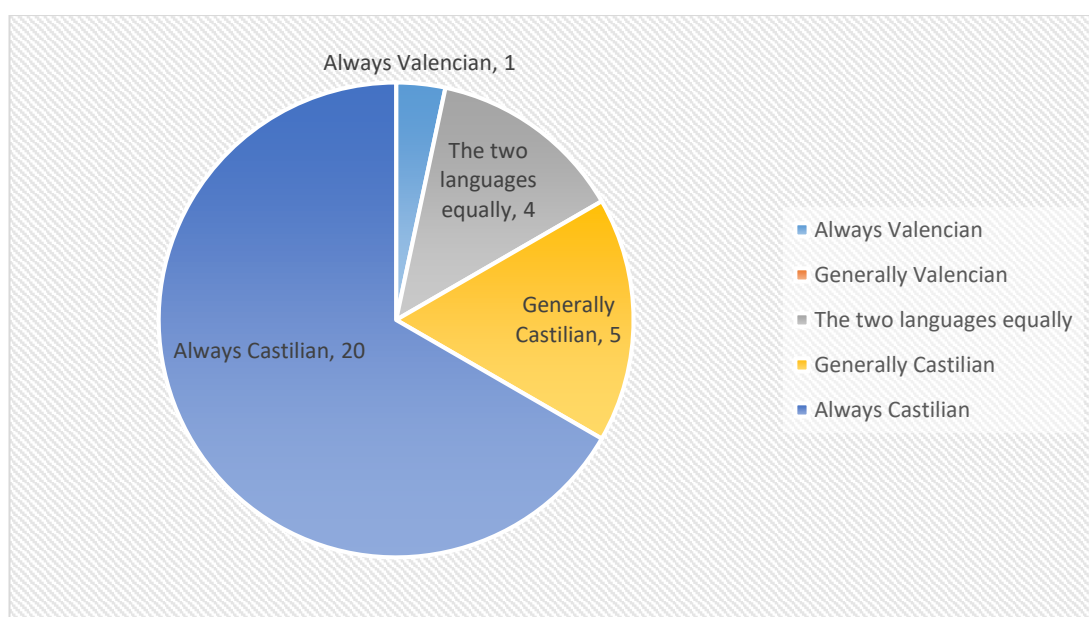


Figure 34: Language choice when watching television amongst respondents in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa who answered the questionnaire in Castilian

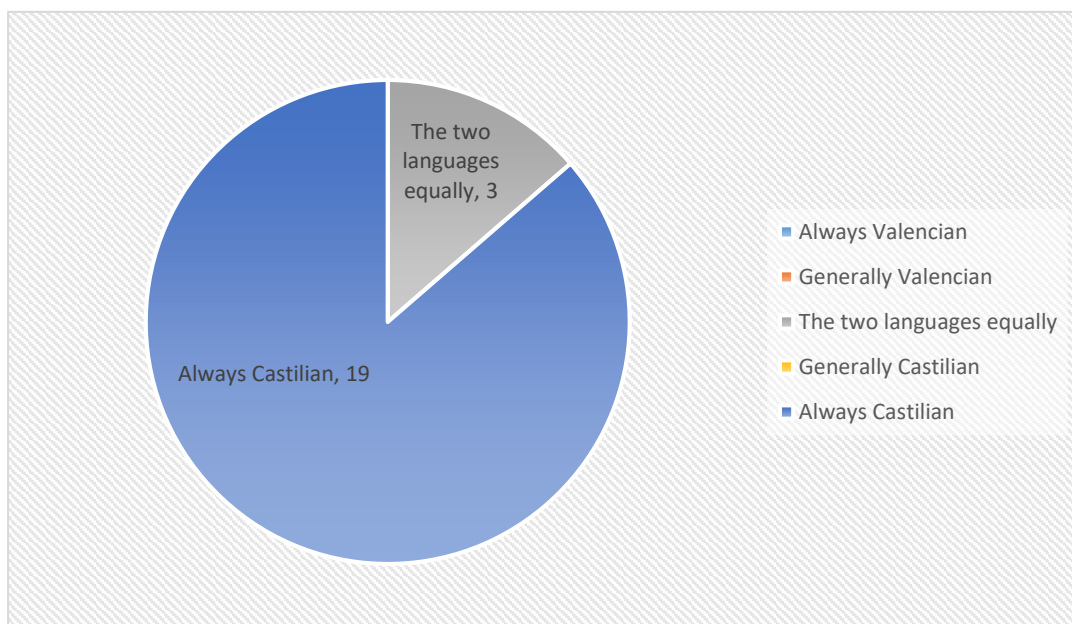


Figure 35: Language choice when listening to the radio amongst respondents in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa who answered the questionnaire in Valencian

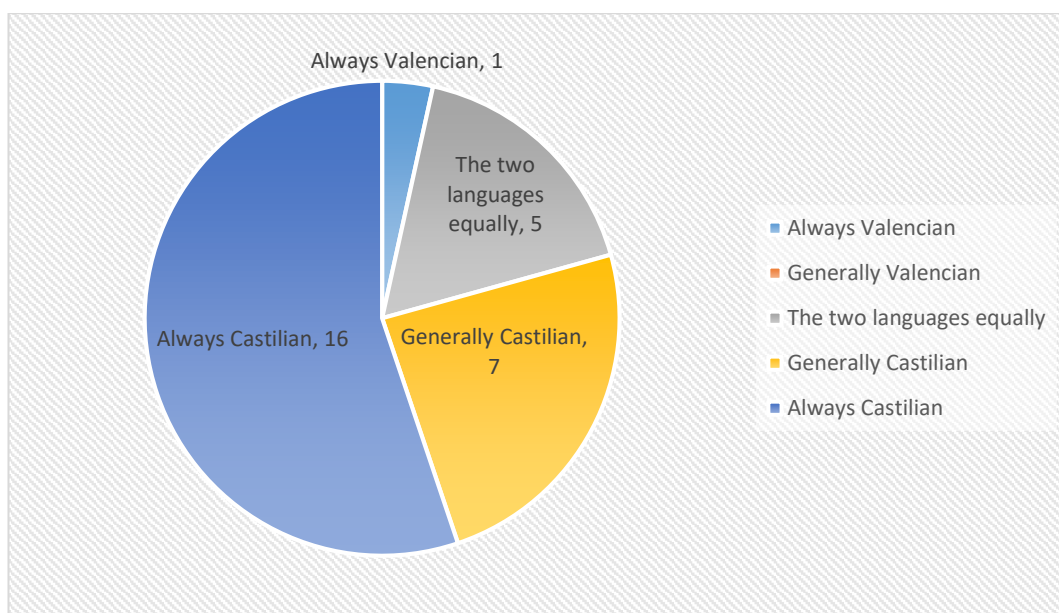
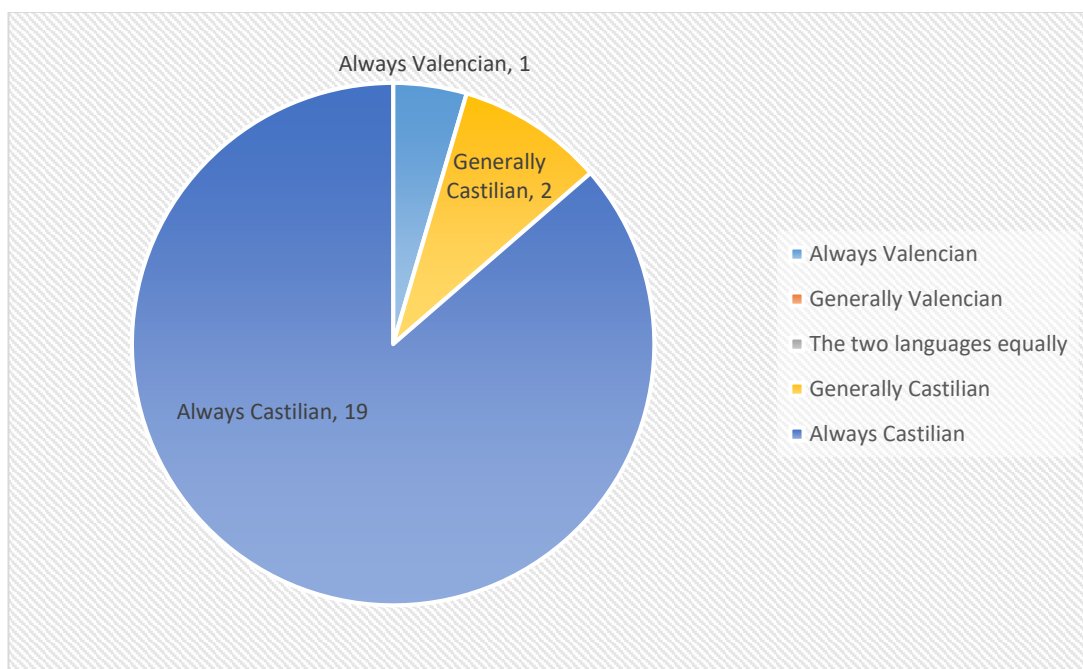


Figure 36: Language choice when listening to the radio amongst respondents in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa who answered the questionnaire in Castilian



Comments from respondents suggest that habitual users of Valencian are unhappy about the present lack of provision of the language on television and the removal of language choice. Some perceive Castilian television as being imposed upon them since the equal official status of the two languages is not reflected in the media sphere. Additionally, those who are learning Valencian, such as respondents C34 and D6 discussed earlier, are unhappy because they have lost a means of practising their new language. Arguing in favour of minority language media, Cormack (2005: 112) develops the notion that the right to free speech implies media provision in a minority language, since one should be able to express oneself in whichever language one chooses (de Swaan, 2001: 193). In this way, he proposes that minority language media provision is vital in order to meet human rights principles. At present, the situation in the Valencian Community does not satisfy guidelines set by the regional government and it also rejects the recommendations of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (see Grin, 2003: 214-215). Yet, in a context where a language is official, as is the case in the Valencian Community, it should not be necessary to employ a linguistic human rights argument in order to achieve minority language media provision since it should be in place

automatically (Cormack; 2005: 113). However, Valencian has now lost its position in the audio-visual sphere, which has consequences for language policy. Yet, as has been discussed, even when Valencian was available, there was concern about the perceived quality of provision.

In addition to commenting on their current and past viewing habits, as part of the questionnaire, respondents were asked in which language they would prefer to watch television (see Figures 37 and 38) and listen to the radio (see Figures 39 and 40), if they were given a free choice. This question provided an insight into language beliefs, since currently viewers have little freedom to choose their preferred language. Responses suggest there is a demand for Valencian language television, particularly amongst those who chose to answer the questionnaire in Valencian. However, comments revealed that any future Valencian audio-visual media would need to be managed well, and provide programmes of interest to attract and maintain viewers. For example, respondent C9 (female, forties, teacher) commented that she did not watch Canal 9 very often since she did not think it to be a good quality channel; however, given the choice, she would prefer to watch television in Valencian.

‘En valencià si fora una televisió de qualitat, en valencià sí.’

*(In Valencian, if it were a television channel of good quality, in Valencian yes.)*

Overall, the language preference amongst those who answered the questionnaire in Castilian was for Castilian. However, respondents did acknowledge the importance of language choice and the consequences of giving Valencian a media presence. Respondent D5 (female, twenties, unemployed/looks after family) explained that she would choose to watch television and listen to the radio in Castilian because it is the language that she is accustomed to, having grown up using it. However, she would like her son to be able to have the option to watch and listen in Valencian to help him pick up the language.

‘Hombre, a ver entre medio y medio porque también me gustaría para que el niño, para que coja el valenciano. Yo me da igual, pero el niño, no.’



*(Man, let's see, half and half because I'd also like [Valencian] so that my son can pick up Valencian. Me, I don't mind, but my son, no.)*

Although a habitual Valencian speaker, respondent C12 (female, forties, maths tutor) expressed that she did not have a preference for language on the television and radio. She explained that the option to watch the television and listen to the radio in either language would be beneficial since then a language would not be imposed on people. Just as the present lack of choice in the media sphere may influence language policy, imposing Valencian on people would perhaps alienate potential users rather than contribute to revitalisation.

Figure 37: Preferred language in which to watch television amongst respondents in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa who answered the questionnaire in Valencian

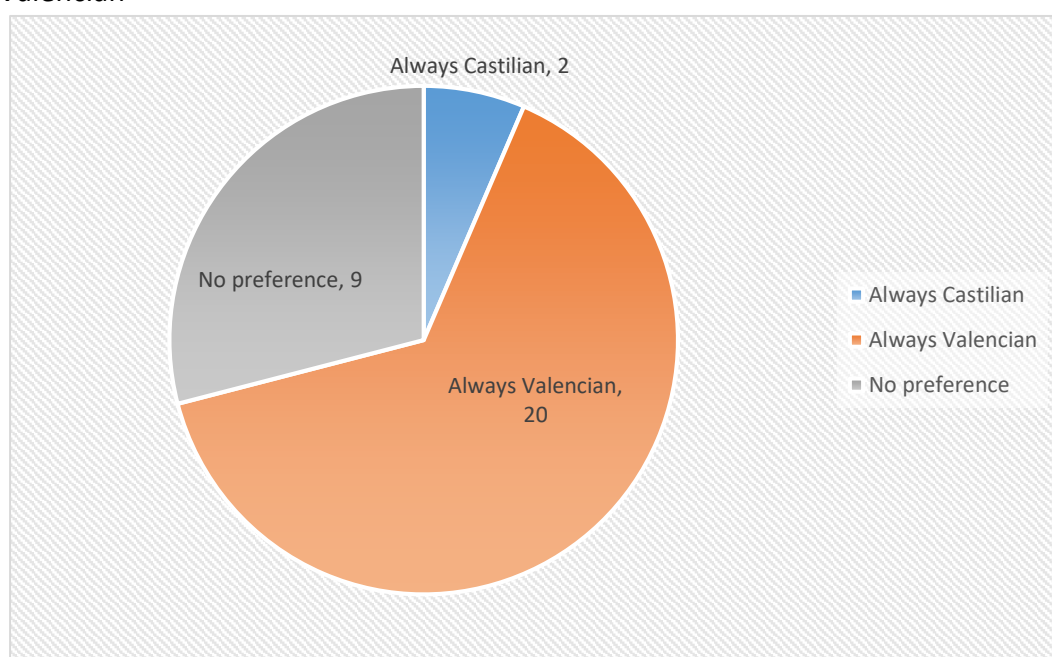


Figure 38: Preferred language in which to watch television amongst respondents in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa who answered the questionnaire in Castilian

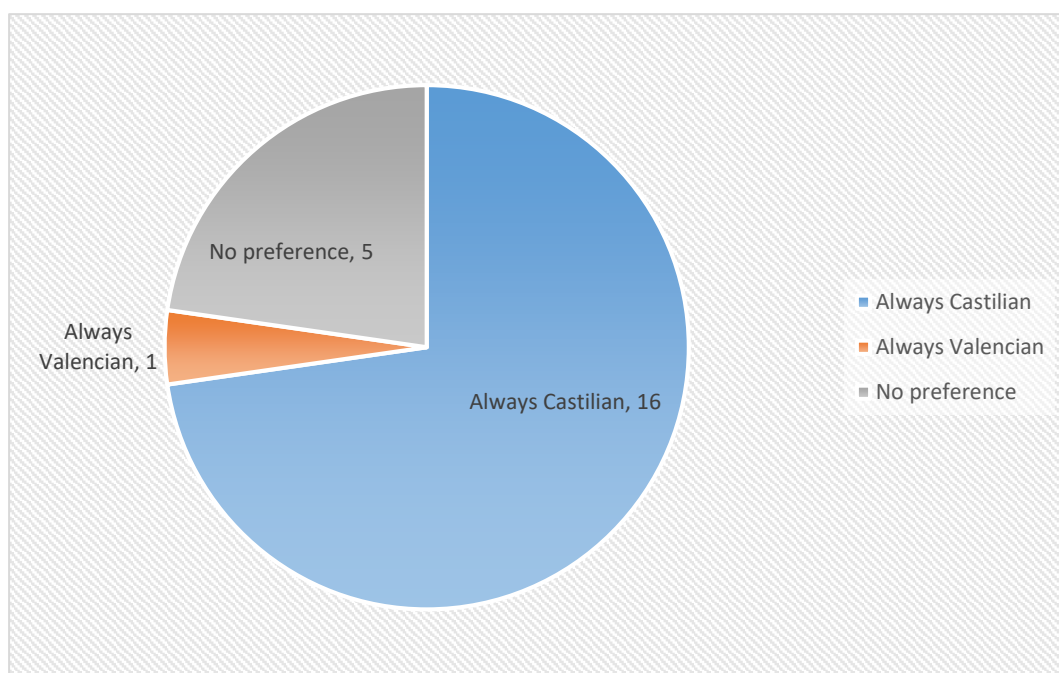


Figure 39: Preferred language in which to listen to the radio amongst respondents in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa who answered the questionnaire in Valencian

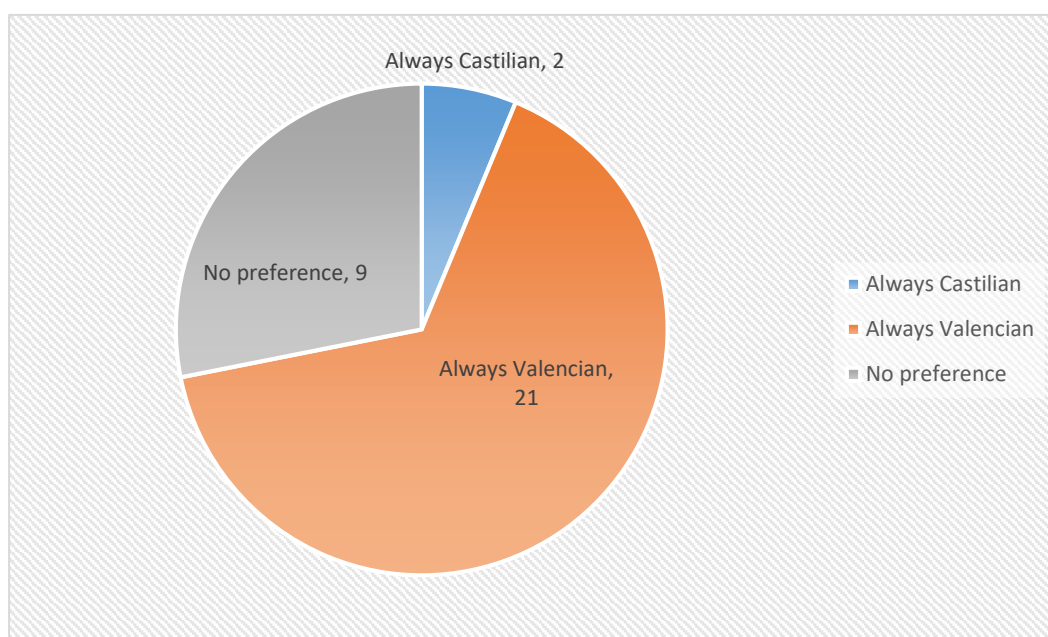
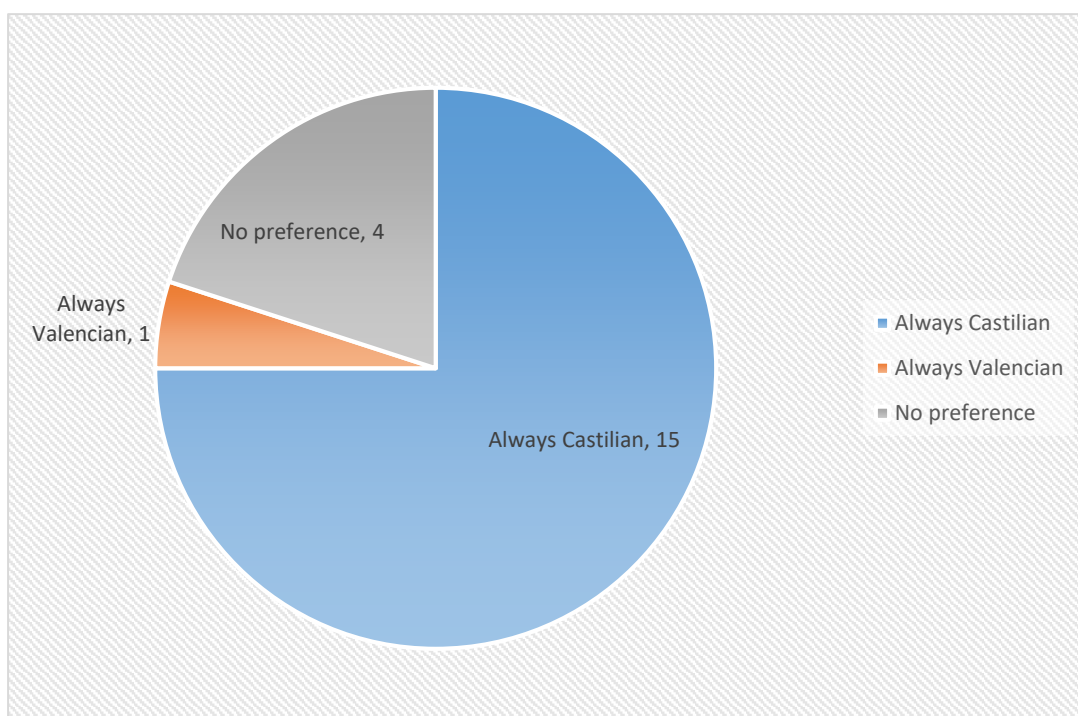


Figure 40: Preferred language in which to listen to the radio amongst respondents in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa who answered the questionnaire in Castilian



Comments from those expressing a desire for Valencian language media all emphasise the need for any Valencian output to be of interest to viewers. If this demand is not met, viewers are in a position to switch once again to one of the Castilian language channels (see Cormack, 2007: 56). As such, providing good minority language provision is challenging since there is usually well-established competition via the majority language (see Strubell & Boix-Fuster, 2011: 4) and individuals who have access to more than one language are in a position to select media content from a greater number of sources than those who have fewer languages available to them.

Fieldwork data suggest that people, both habitual Valencian and Castilian speakers, want Valencian to have a place in the media (see Figures 41 and 42). Reinstating Valencian media provision would enable *de facto* language policy (see Shohamy, 2006) to reflect official statements and would provide the option to consume media in either of the Valencian Community's official languages.

Figure 41: 'Is it important to use Valencian in the media?' according to respondents in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa who answered the questionnaire in Valencian

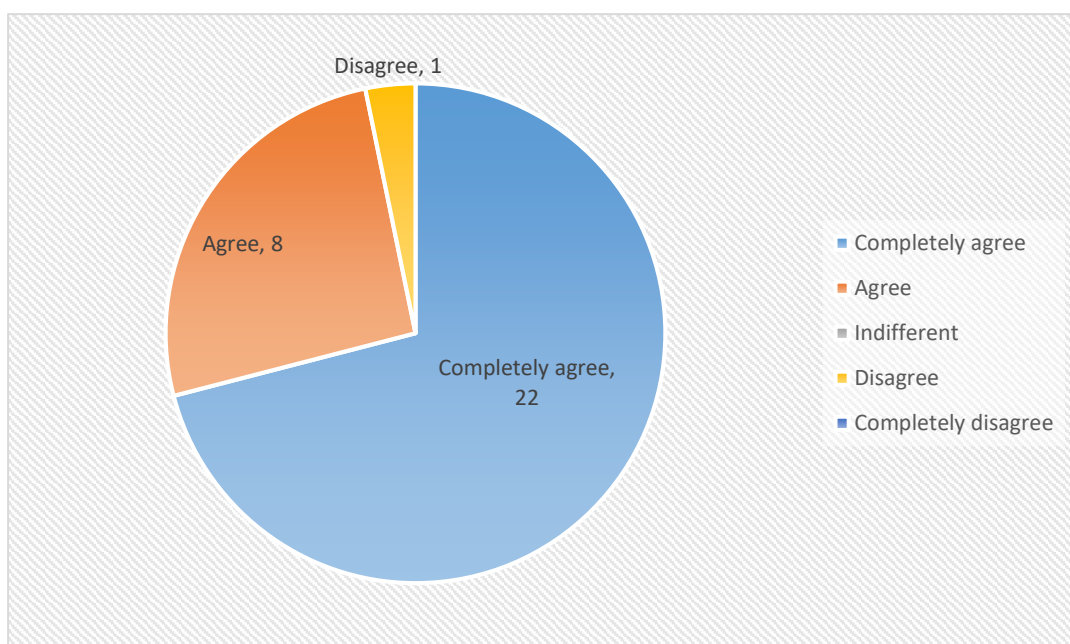
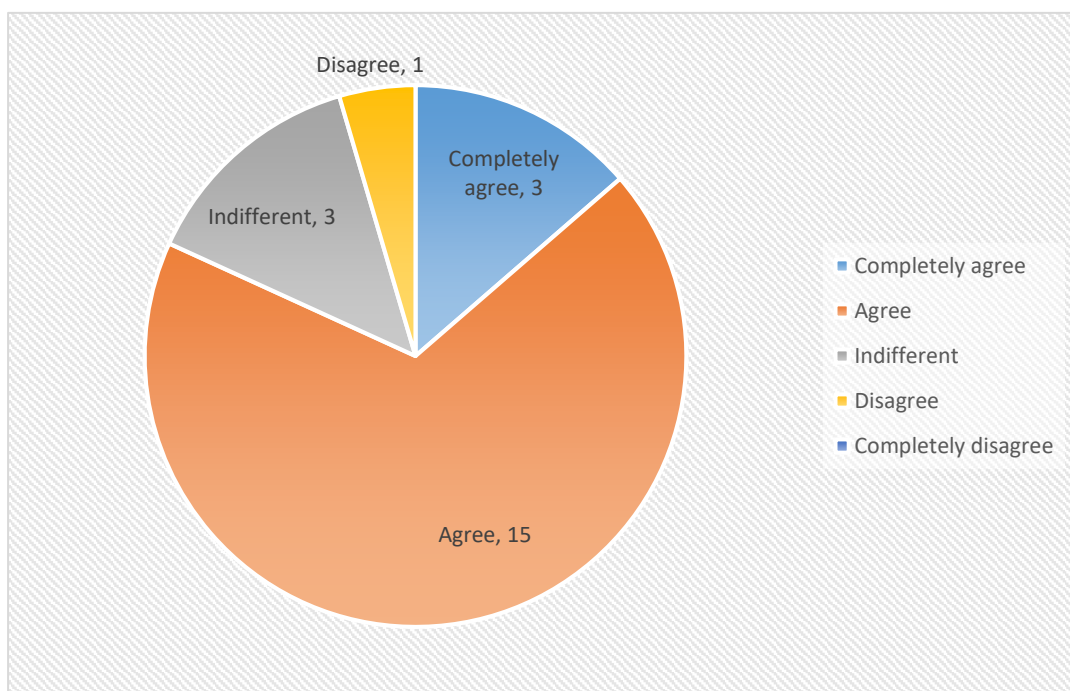


Figure 42: 'Is it important to use Valencian in the media?' according to respondents in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa who answered the questionnaire in Castilian



Several respondents considered the media as a means to promote Valencian and to help it to progress (Crystal, 2000; May, 2004). Respondent C19 (female, fifties, secretary) has recently started attending Valencian classes and she thinks that Valencian should have a media presence in order to help people learn it.

‘Es que aquí no hay. Sería importante que lo hiciera porque lo que sale de la televisión se vive más, se aprende más.’

*(It's that there isn't any. It is essential that they [have Valencian television] because what is seen on television is more alive and people learn from it.)*

Equally, respondent D5 (female, twenties, unemployed/looks after family) believes that making Valencian more visible would help people to learn the language.

‘Sí para enseñarlos, si está en más sitios, se puede ver.’

*(Yes, to teach them, if it's in more places, you can see it.)*

Whilst there is debate regarding the extent to which television encourages actual language use, presence of a minority language on television does demonstrate that the language in question can be used in normal and modern communication (Cormack, 2007: 54). As such, media has the potential to be a powerful tool in the language revitalisation process in terms of improving language beliefs. Consequently, the removal of the language from this domain may have a negative impact on language revitalisation and language policy. Respondent C2 (male, thirties, teacher) believes that the need for a Valencian presence in the media has become even greater following the closure of Canal 9.

‘Totalment d'acord i més ara que partir del tancament del Canal 9.’

*(Totally agree [that Valencian should have a presence in the media] and even more so after the closure of Canal 9.)*

This comment suggests that the revitalisation of Valencian and language policy are at a critical stage and that the nature of debate surrounding minority language media has altered. Whilst previous criticism was aimed at the lack of high quality minority

media, the current absence of Valencian is of particular concern amongst habitual speakers of both Valencian and Castilian. Respondents C21 (male, forties, lecturer) and C30 (female, forties, teacher) both consider current media provision in Valencian to be unsatisfactory and both would like Valencian to have a presence in the audio-visual landscape. Respondent C21 positioned the situation in the Valencian Community in a wider European context.

‘Sería importantísimo. Ahora mismo la situación es terrible. Creo que si no me equivoco en toda Europa no hay ninguna en el mundo, no hay ninguna lengua oficial que no tenga un canal público de comunicación. Hasta el *Cornish* tiene emisiones, no tenemos nada.’

*(It is very important. At the moment the situation is terrible. If I’m not mistaken I believe that in the whole of Europe, they isn’t a single language in the world, they isn’t a single official language that does not have a public channel. Even Cornish has broadcasts, we don’t have anything.)*

Similarly, respondent C30 expressed unhappiness with the current situation and the lack of choice available.

‘És fatal. Ara en la tele no escoltem res en valencià, res. Si vols escoltar algo, té que ser la TV3 i és català, no és valencià.’

*(It’s terrible. Now on television we can’t listen to anything in Valencian. If you want to listen to something, it has to be TV3 [online or via satellite] and that is Catalan, it isn’t Valencian.)*

In addition to expressing anger at the lack of media provision in Valencian, her comment suggests she does not identify with the Catalan public broadcaster due to the difference in language varieties used. This has implications for questions of identity, and also the potential viability of a shared Catalan communicative space, which is discussed later in this chapter.

Respondent C23 (female, thirties, cleaner) is a habitual Castilian speaker, having grown up in a Castilian-speaking family but also felt that Valencian should

have a position in the media sphere. She suggested that a Valencian language channel should be provided, as was the case previously.

‘Sí lo que teníamos antes, algún canal.’

*(Yes, what we had before, a channel.)*

However, as has been discussed, any future media provision in Valencian would need to act as a viable alternative to Castilian media by offering Valencian content which appeals to a broad audience. Additionally, broadcasts in Valencian would need to serve to confirm the equal official status of the language, rather than marginalise it.

#### 5.4.4 A Linguistic Citizenship Approach

This study reveals that there is demand for audio-visual media in Valencian. The renewed presence of the language alongside the existing Castilian provision would enable their equal official status to be reflected in the audio-visual sphere. Whilst television in both languages was previously available, it could be argued that the nature of programming on Canal 9 only reinforced Valencian’s status as a minority language due to concerns about programme content and quality. Therefore, if demands for Valencian television are to be met, such issues would have to be addressed so that the equality of the two official languages is to be truly reflected in the audio-visual landscape. If a new channel simply follows the model of Canal 9, Castilian would likely remain the dominant language in the community repertoire.

As has already been discussed, Valencian education is perceived as one of the most successful aspects of language legislation in the Valencian Community (Blas Arroyo, 2002). Although it has not necessarily led to increases in social use of the language, knowledge of Valencian and linguistic awareness have improved. However, access to Valencian through compulsory education is dependent on one’s age. In contrast, television and radio, unlike education, are available to all sectors of society, regardless of age or background; therefore, they have the potential to be a powerful normalisation tool as Grin and Vaillancourt (2003: 28) propose. Respondent C6 (male, thirties, teacher and translator) believes that media provision in Valencian is important and has an equal role to school education with respect to normalisation.

‘Molts importants, igual que l’escola. Les mitjans de comunicació són fonament.’

*(Very important, just like school. The media is essential.)*

Similarly, respondent C9 (female, forties, teacher) holds the view that the media can have an influential role in the normalisation of Valencian:

‘Són els que poden fer més a favor a part de l’escola, és que poden donar-li més prestigi.’

*(It is them [the media] who can do more in favour [of the language] apart from school, it’s that the media can give Valencian more prestige.)*

Likewise, respondent C20 (female, forties, tutor and writer) values the role that media can play in efforts to normalise Valencian.

‘Moltíssim, és molt important. Sense els mitjans de comunicació, és molt difícil una normalització lingüística...L’escola arriba a la societat; la universitat arriba no a tota la societat. En canvi els mitjans de comunicació tenen una base social molt gran.’

*(Very, it is very important. Without the media, linguistic normalisation is very difficult. School reaches society; university does not reach all of society. In contrast, the media has a broad social base.)*

Regardless of whether minority language media increases language use, a renewed presence for Valencian in the audio-visual sphere, if managed well, could contribute to an improvement in language beliefs, and therefore, influence language policy. Valencian via the television and radio has the potential to reach more people than Valencian in the classroom since they are accessible to all sectors of society.

Not only has the Valencian Community lost its own regional output in Valencian but the option to receive content from neighbouring Catalonia was removed in 2011 causing the disruption of the Catalan communicative space. Writing



in 2011, Strubell and Boix-Fuster expressed concern about the media situation in the Valencian Community:

The absence of a common communication space in Catalan, the progressive blocking of Televisió de Catalunya broadcasts in Valencia and the lack of mutual familiarisation between the language's main dialects (Central, Balearic, Valencian and North-western), which would permit the exchange of dubbed material throughout their territories, could lead to the split of a language that has, overall, remained highly unified (Strubell and Boix-Fuster, 2011: 6).

This statement suggests criticism towards media provision in the Valencian Community and the possible consequences for the overall normalisation of Catalan. They argue that actions carried out by the *Generalitat Valenciana* in order to assert Valencian, rather than Catalan, as the region's language have harmed the sociolinguistic situation in the Valencian Community. Strubell and Boix-Fuster (2011: 4) comment that due to the high number of speakers of Catalan, the language has the potential to establish a competitive and established presence in the media through territorial and linguistic collaboration, which would further contribute to the normalisation of the language. A shared communicative space between Catalonia and the Balearics was implemented in January 2009 and enabled Catalan television to be available in the Balearics, whilst it was possible to watch Balearic television in Catalonia. Yet, this too was interrupted in March 2015 when the Balearic president, José Ramon Bauzá (*Partido Popular*) stated that he was unable to find an alternative solution amid the switchover from analogue to digital television (unknown author, 2015). In April 2016, the reciprocal agreement was reinstated (unknown author, 2016), allowing the shared communicative space between Catalonia and the Balearics to exist once again. However, the development of such a shared communicative space requires both public and political support, and political support is lacking in the Valencian Community (Strubell & Boix-Fuster, 2011: 4), and as such, the Valencian Community is not part of such an agreement. Minority language media often struggle to compete with content in majority languages, therefore, having a shared Catalan communicative space would mean that the language is available to

higher number of viewers across a larger geographical space. This could contribute to the imagining of a larger Catalan-speaking community (Anderson, 2006), rather than the current territorial and linguistic fragmentation that separates speakers in the Valencian Community from those in Catalonia. Additionally, more viewers would be able to generate more revenue, and as such, output could compete with Castilian national channels.

At present the future for Valencian language media provision is uncertain. Fieldwork data suggest that there is demand, on the condition that any future television or radio output is perceived to be of interest and relevance to viewers. If this request is not met, viewers will simply choose to watch alternative channels. Whilst collecting fieldwork data in 2014, in the months following the closure of RTVV, a petition was in circulation asking for the equipment at the station to remain in place, so that a Valencian language channel could be reintroduced at a future date. Therefore, a linguistic citizenship approach (Stroud 2001; Stroud & Heugh, 2004) may be useful in future efforts to normalise Valencian, since it allows speakers to take ownership of their language and to make decisions at a local level, rather than having top-down measures imposed by those who are detached from the language at a grassroots level. Such a grassroots initiative prompted by local demand may yield results in terms of language revitalisation. Strubell and Boix-Fuster (2011: 8) acknowledge the success of civic associations in the Valencian context such as *Acció Cultural País Valencià* and *Escola Valenciana*. However, grassroots language revitalisation efforts need require long-term commitment, time and dedicated agents. Until summer 2015, Sant Vicent del Raspeig's commercial radio station, offered one hour of Valencian language each week. *L'Almàspera* was a programme created and hosted by a circle of volunteers featuring items of local interest. However, it did not continue due to the volunteers having other commitments. The linguistic citizenship approach also advocates a shared identity through commonality rather than fragmentation. However, fieldwork data suggest that an ideology of territorial and linguistic fragmentation has been appropriated by institutions and subsequently internalised by speakers. Such beliefs have led to the rejection of Catalan media by some on the grounds that the language variety used is different to

their own. Therefore, for a shared communicative space to work, such beliefs towards language and identity would first need to be addressed.

As has been examined in this section, the media situation in the Valencian Community no longer reflects official language policy in terms of the equal representation of Valencian and Castilian. Following the closure of RTVV and the decision to block the signal for Catalan television and radio, Castilian is allowed to dominate in this context and official statements about language are no longer fulfilled. Thus, as discussed earlier in this chapter Castilian holds a stronger position in the community repertoire, whilst Valencian is marginalised and the present media setting reinforces this situation.

#### 5.4.5 Concluding Remarks

Analysing the data collected in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and La Vila Joiosa in the province of Alicante revealed the complexity of local language policy. Rather than there being one single identifiable language policy, a range of language practices, beliefs and management co-exist and interact to create a complex local sociolinguistic setting. As has been discussed, in part this is due to the considerable political and social change that the Valencian Community has experienced in its recent history. Of particular significance is the transformation of the status of Valencian from prohibited language during the Franco regime to co-official alongside Castilian in the region since the transition to democracy. Increased Valencian acquisition through formal education, rather than simply traditional intergenerational transmission, contributes to a range of speaker profiles, who have varied linguistic repertoires and a range of views towards language, resulting in a complex language policy. Such changes also challenge traditional perceptions of minority languages and their speakers and raise questions in terms of authority, authenticity and belonging, and also the construction and perception of Valencian identities. This study suggests that as Valencian acquisition continues to increase, the composition of linguistic repertoires and issues of identity will also continue to evolve. For example, as has been discussed, 'place' and 'language' are perceived as important components of Valencian identity; however, their value is shifting in response to increased Valencian acquisition. As a result, there is a conflict between

essential and dynamic conceptions of identity amongst various groups who appropriate both components in othering processes.

Yet, despite a significant change in sociolinguistic circumstances as a result of the transition to democracy, questionnaire responses indicate that historical language beliefs have been internalised by speakers and also continue to influence current language policy, even amongst those who did not experience the oppressive measures of the Franco regime. This continued influence of previous circumstances means that Castilian remains the dominant, and often default, language of the community repertoire, despite the official parity of Castilian and Valencian. The act of declaring two languages as equally official does not automatically result in a change of language practices, beliefs and management (Spolsky, 2004: 11; Stroud & Heugh; 2004: 199). Instead, this study indicates that the relationship between the two languages remains hierarchical to an extent, as was the case during the dictatorship; however, there is a blurring of boundaries between Valencian and Castilian in certain domains. Thus, the current circumstances are quite removed from Ferguson's original definition of diglossia (1959) which proposed a much stricter separation between language varieties. Today, Castilian has spread into domains previously occupied by Valencian, such as the home, and Valencian is now present in domains traditionally associated with Castilian, such as school. Discussing this set of circumstances, resulting from language revitalisation efforts, it was decided to introduce the term 'bidirectional dilalia' as an extension of Berruto's original theory of dilalia (1989) to represent the spread of both languages to new domains. It is hoped that this definition will be considered with reference to other multilingual contexts where a minority language has undergone similar language revitalisation efforts.

By examining linguistic repertoires and identity in the first two sections of this chapter, it was possible to focus on speakers, who are important agents of language policy. This coincides with Spolsky (2004) who recommends that an assessment of language policy should not concentrate solely on language but also consider the role of extra-linguistic factors. In this way, in addition to considering the role of speakers, this chapter also looked at the implications of the withdrawal of Valencian from the

public audio-visual sphere. Equally, Hornsby (2015) advocates an inclusive approach and recommends that attention be paid to speakers and their needs. In this particular research context, there are a wide range of speaker profiles and their diverse linguistic backgrounds inform current language policy. Those who experienced the previous regime and its views on language are present alongside those who have experienced the new democratic system, and as such, there are a range of language practices, beliefs and management and the current sociolinguistic situation has not yet caught up with official statements about the shared official status of Castilian and Valencian. Thus, it could be said that language policy in Alicante remains in transition. It will continue to evolve as gradually more speakers are exposed to Valencian through language revitalisation efforts and those who experienced the previous political system become fewer. Boundaries between speaker profiles will blur over time and the number of people with some degree of Valencian knowledge will continue to increase due to changes to the education system. Therefore, attitudes towards minority languages and their speakers will continue to be challenged and it may be that existing speaker profiles have to be redefined to reflect changing conditions. The emergence of new profiles of Valencian speakers may also require a future re-elaboration of the concepts of belonging and entitlement in minority language contexts.

However, as Romaine (1995) observes, there is no need for two languages to serve the same purpose within a speech community and one language will always dominate. Therefore, whilst gradually more people will acquire Valencian, maintaining the equal official status of Castilian and Valencian may be a challenge as one language tends to dominate in multilingual contexts. As has been discussed, whilst officially both languages shares equal status, this is not necessarily reflected in the *de facto* language policy (Shohamy, 2006) and official language management measures are not necessarily fulfilled successfully (Spolsky, 2004). This disparity was examined in greater detail in the third section of this chapter which examined the position of Valencian in the audio-visual sphere and presented the case of the closure of the public Valencian broadcaster RTVV in November 2013. The withdrawal of Valencian from this context contradicts official language legislation, since Valencian

and Castilian are not reflected equally in this sphere and it could be argued that removing the Valencian public television and radio service represents a step backwards in terms of language policy and language maintenance efforts. Yet, as has been discussed, even when RTVV was in operation, there were concerns that it did not position Valencian as equal to Castilian, and as such, hindered efforts to raise the status of Valencian. Questions of quality resulted in viewers turning away from the service and consuming media elsewhere. However, following the closure of RTVV and the absence of Valencian from the audio-visual sphere, the nature of this debate has changed. There are now calls for a new Valencian public broadcaster, and as such, any potential developments will influence future language policy.

To conclude, it is clear that language policy in Alicante is complex due to the existence of an elaborate web of language practices, beliefs and management, which are informed by external factors that continue to evolve. Therefore, it is logical to argue that despite the implementation of official language legislation in the 1980s as a result of the transition to democracy, language policy in Alicante remains in transition. It will carry on developing in response to changing circumstances and the continued evolution of speaker profiles.

## Chapter 6 - Conclusion

### 6.1 Introduction

By analysing fieldwork data and evaluating previous studies, this thesis has provided an assessment of current language policy (Spolsky, 2004) in Alicante. This project considers efforts to revitalise Valencian since the introduction of language legislation in the early 1980s and the resulting relationship between Castilian and Valencian, the two official languages of the Valencian Community. This study positions itself within the research fields of Hispanic Studies and also Sociolinguistics. It assesses the sociolinguistic setting in Alicante at a local level in order to understand the various factors that interact to inform a nuanced local language policy. The findings of this study are positioned within a broader Catalan context, a Spanish context, and also a European context in order to contribute to current research at various levels. As discussed in chapter four, this localised approach within a wider perspective allows the data collected as part of this study to be interpreted and appreciated fully (Creese, 2010). This project contributes to the growing body of research in European minority language contexts and encourages further study in this area.

As has been discussed in the preceding chapters, it is not possible to highlight one single language policy in Alicante. Instead, this study suggests that language policy in Alicante is multifaceted and continues in a period of transition. The idea that language policy continues to evolve reflects the change experienced since the end of Franco's dictatorship and the founding of the Valencian Community and the resulting varied backgrounds and upbringings of speakers. As has been discussed in detail in the previous chapter, local language policy comprises a web of multiple and intersecting language practices, beliefs and management, which operate at various levels. This complex linguistic setting is a reflection of the social, political, cultural and linguistic change experienced over the last forty years.

As outlined in the introductory chapter, this thesis sought to address the following research questions:

- What is current language policy in Alicante and how do the three components of Spolsky's framework interact to influence the current sociolinguistic setting?
- What is the relationship between Castilian and Valencian and how does it compare to official statements about language, which were made over thirty years ago in the transition to democracy?
- What other themes emerge from the data and how do they also contribute to language policy?

These questions were proposed in order to obtain an understanding of language policy in Alicante in the broadest possible context, whilst also analysing the nuances of the sociolinguistic setting at a local level (Spolsky, 2004). Being guided by these questions also enabled the themes that emerged during data collection, such as the composition of linguistic repertoires, changing Valencian identities and the implications of the closure of *Ràdio Televisió Valenciana*, and their contribution to language policy, to be developed further during data analysis. This chapter reflects upon these three research questions and the main findings from fieldwork data to provide an assessment of current language policy in Alicante. Then, the significance of this study, and its conclusions, are considered in the context of Spain, the Catalan speaking territories, and also, Europe. This chapter concludes by outlining aspects that emerged from the study that will be pursued further in future research.

## 6.2 The Main Findings

The findings from this study suggest that a multi-layered web of practices, beliefs, and management exists in Alicante. This complexity arises from evolving social, political, cultural and linguistic conditions and the sociolinguistic setting continues to develop to reflect changing circumstances and the development of linguistic trajectories.

Of particular significance is the unequal relationship between Castilian and Valencian, which was revealed during data collection. This situation is in contrast to official language statements which were made in the founding of the Valencian Community in the transition from Franco's dictatorship to democracy. As outlined in



chapter three, in 1982 with the founding of the Valencian Community it was declared that Castilian and Valencian were co-official languages in the autonomous community (Corts Valencianes, 2006). However, as has become apparent throughout the course of this thesis, there is disparity in Alicante between official statements about language and actual language policy (Shohamy, 2006). As Romaine (1995: 19) notes, no community necessarily requires two languages for the same purpose, and over thirty years on from the implementation of language legislation, Castilian maintains a dominant position in both individual and community repertoires. Simply declaring a language as official does not guarantee that the policy will be implemented successfully (Spolsky, 2004) and this study reveals that individuals do not necessarily possess the linguistic resources required for this to happen. Thus, as discussed in chapter five, data collected as part of this study suggest that previous ideologies and proficiency inherited from the past continue to influence language policy in Alicante.

In order to understand this unequal relationship between Castilian and Valencian, the theoretical frameworks of diglossia (Ferguson, 1959) and dilalia (Berruto, 1989a; 1989b) were considered with relation to the sociolinguistic setting in Alicante. However, as discussed in earlier chapters, whilst both frameworks correspond to the situation in Alicante to an extent, since they reference the hierarchical relationship that exists between languages in bilingual communities, both theories present shortcomings. In particular, this study suggest that current circumstances are not necessarily reflected by these frameworks, which have become out-of-date due to social change. For example, the original definition of diglossia proposed by Ferguson is very strict and his compartmentalisation of languages and their function does not recognise the present fluidity of language. Furthermore, certain modernisation processes such as the acquisition of literacy and increased migration (Gellner, 1964) have made Ferguson's work less relevant to current circumstances.

Recognising the difficulties presented by Ferguson's strict definition of diglossia, García (2013) suggests the term *transglossia* in order to reflect a more fluid relationship between languages at a societal level. However, as has been discussed,

transglossia also does not entirely reflect conditions in Alicante because not all language users have access to Valencian, alongside Castilian. Therefore, not all language users are aware of the need to negotiate linguistic and societal norms resulting from the disparity between the two languages in terms of social status. Due to the limitations of diglossia and transglossia, Berruto's work on dilalia (1989a; 1989b) was also considered in relation to the research context. Although written more recently, the findings from this study indicate that Berruto's theory of dilalia has also become outdated, and therefore, it raises a number of problems. As discussed in earlier chapters, whilst Berruto considers the spread of the majority language to new domains, his theory does not acknowledge the spread of the minority language to contexts traditionally associated with the majority language. This bidirectional movement has become common in the wake of language revitalisation programmes and the emergence of new speaker profiles. As considered in chapter five, such speakers challenge existing sociolinguistic hierarchies and offer new language practices and beliefs, which contribute to the overall complex language policy.

Therefore, due to the limitations of existing theoretical frameworks, this project proposes the term 'bidirectional dilalia' to characterise the relationship between Castilian and Valencian. This definition recognises the spread of both languages to new domains with which they were previously not associated. As discussed in earlier chapters, language shift to Castilian, which started in the 16<sup>th</sup> century amongst the upper classes and accelerated to reach all social groups by the 21<sup>st</sup> century due to Franco's regime (Ninyoles, 2002), has led to the presence of Castilian in the home and its use as an everyday language of communication. Such use would traditionally have been associated with Valencian, and not Castilian. Similarly, Valencian has extended into new domains. Following the introduction in 1983 of the *Llei d'Ús i Ensenyament del Valencià* (Corts Valencianes, 1983), Valencian is now present in contexts previously reserved for Castilian, such as the education system and public administration. As such, adapting Berruto's theory and proposing the term 'bidirectional dilalia' references the extension of function of both languages and its movement into new domains as a result of social and political change.

Bidirectional dilalia is a dynamic process and speakers with access to both Castilian and Valencian reposition their languages and draw upon different linguistic resources according to the context. Like transglossia, bidirectional dilalia acknowledges the fluidity of language practices. However, unlike transglossia which is a societal phenomenon, bidirectional dilalia occurs at an individual level. Not all language users are aware of the hierarchical relationship that persists between Castilian and Valencian, and not all language users have the linguistic resources needed to negotiate these linguistic and societal norms. As such, the process of bidirectional dilalia echoes the nuances of language policy in Alicante, which operates at many levels and is informed by many factors, including at the level of the individual. It is hoped that suggesting this term to describe circumstances in Alicante will encourage its consideration with reference to other European minority language contexts which have undergone similar language revitalisation efforts. In an era of language revitalisation programmes and in acknowledgement of previous theoretical models, bidirectional dilalia recognises the persisting, but shifting, hierarchy that exists between languages that have traditionally been labelled as minority and majority languages.

This study also proposes a typology of Valencian identities, which provides a visual representation of the various identities observed and commented upon during data collection (see Figure 32). As discussed in chapter five, Valencian identities are dynamic and continue to evolve in response to changing sociolinguistic circumstances. This study suggests that as Valencian acquisition increases, speaker profiles and identities are developing as a result. Although various identity groups with boundaries have been identified, these boundaries are, to an extent, porous since individuals belong to various communities of practice (Eckert 2000; 2006). Moreover, the various Valencian identities will continue to evolve as sociolinguistic circumstances develop. As with the suggested definition of bidirectional dilalia, it is hoped that this proposed typology of Valencian identities will be considered in relation to similar research contexts, where language revitalisation efforts have prompted changes to conceptions of identity.

### 6.3 Significance of this Study

As discussed in the introductory chapter, this study is timely because it began thirty years after the founding of the Valencian Community in 1982. This year saw the creation of the Valencian Statute of Autonomy which made various language statements (Corts Valencianes, 2006) and was followed in 1983 by the introduction of the *Llei d'Ús i Ensenyament del Valencià* (Corts Valencianes, 1983). Yet, whilst official language legislation has been introduced in the Valencian Community in the democratic era, such official measures have not been implemented as successfully as in neighbouring Catalonia and current sociolinguistic circumstances in Alicante do not necessarily reflect official language statements. Conducting this study thirty years on from these events enables an assessment of how language policy, and in particular the revitalisation of Valencian and its relationship with Castilian, has evolved in the intervening years. For example, as noted in chapter three, fieldwork data and previous sociolinguistic surveys (Generalitat Valenciana, 2005; 2010; 2015) indicate that knowledge of Valencian has increased in the last thirty years, especially, in terms of literacy. However, questionnaire responses suggest that social use of Valencian has not improved to the same degree; instead, Castilian maintains a dominant position in both individual and community repertoires, which contradicts official language statements. This present disparity is a result of previous circumstances and suggests that proficiency and ideologies inherited from the previous political system remain influential.

Therefore, whilst language education policy in the Valencian Community is generally recognised as the most successful aspect of language management (Blas Arroyo, 2002), in order to successfully revitalise a language, education policy must not only improve knowledge of the language, which has been achieved in the Valencian context, but also increase its social use. Previous surveys (Generalitat Valenciana, 2005; 2010) and findings from this study suggest that this has not yet been achieved. However, improved language practices can be achieved through the raising of language beliefs. If language users value a language, they will be inclined to use it as outlined by Strubell's (2001) Catherine Wheel model. Therefore, to encourage use of Valencian, future education policy should perhaps also incorporate

an element of language awareness. As discussed in chapter five, acquisition of standard Valencian is prompting language users to re-evaluate the position of the languages in their linguistic repertoire. Future education policy should not only empower language users to have views on their languages, which fieldwork data suggest that they already have, but it should also encourage language users to value language diversity. In this way, it should seek to improve beliefs towards minority languages, such as Valencian, which in turn would result in increased language use. As such, future language education policy should be additive rather than subtractive (Thompson & Lamboy, 2012: 38). In this way, Valencian would be added to language users' repertoires, whilst Castilian would be maintained. In contrast, a subtractive policy seeks to replace one language variety with another, which results in language loss. For an additive language policy to be successful, language users must feel that the added language is beneficial rather than simply an imposition. As discussed in the previous chapter, some fieldwork respondents currently view Valencian education as an obligation, and if language revitalisation is to succeed in future, such attitudes must be understood and overcome.

As has already been commented upon, developments since the transition to democracy, particularly in terms of language education, have had considerable implications for current sociolinguistic circumstances. For example, as discussed in chapter five, changes to Valencian acquisition have informed the composition of linguistic repertoires and also the perception and construction of identity. In turn, such changes have implications for language policy and call for a rethinking of existing sociolinguistic hierarchies and the profile of minority language speakers (O'Rourke et al., 2015). As a result of language revitalisation efforts, today Valencian acquisition is no longer limited to traditional intergenerational transmission in the home. Instead, Valencian may be studied formally, and the acquisition of literacy, the standard variety, and its surrounding ideologies (Milroy, 2001; 2007), is now possible. Such changes have made Valencian acquisition possible for more language users, and consequently, perceptions of Valencian identity are shifting. This study suggests that whilst the Valencian language is often perceived as an important, even essential, component of Valencian identity in vernacular discourse, attitudes towards language

and identity are shifting in response to changes to the education system. In this way, it is also perceived that Valencian identity may be acquired through an attachment to a Valencian-speaking place, rather than simply inherited. Moreover, fieldwork data suggest that Valencian acquisition may lead to cultural participation and a sense of belonging. This in turn has consequences for the overall language policy. The intersecting components, which inform language policy, continue to evolve in response to ongoing change and greater access to Valencian.

Of additional significance to this study is the fact that in June 2015 a new socialist coalition government was formed in the Valencian Community. This new coalition comprises members of the PSOE and *Compromís* and follows twenty years of leadership by the conservative PP, who first came to power in 1995. As noted in chapter three, the PP's leadership between 1995 and 2015 has been criticised for a lack of intervention in language matters (Strubell & Boix-Fuster, 2011). However, current circumstances suggest that a period of change is possible in this respect. For example, as is considered in chapter five, recent months have seen increased interest from the regional government in reopening the Valencian public broadcaster RTVV. This follows the decision by the PP in November 2013, just prior to the administration of fieldwork questionnaires, to close the broadcaster, citing financial difficulties. As discussed in chapter five, this closure was a matter of concern amongst fieldwork respondents and the nature of the debate surrounding Valencian media shifted in response. Relaunching a Valencian public television and radio service would have consequences for language revitalisation, and therefore, language policy. It would demonstrate that Valencian is a valued language and has social utility due to its presence in the public sphere (Cormack, 2007; May, 2001). In the Catalan context, the Catalan public broadcaster is recognised as a successful example of minority language media, which has generated discourse in the community, in and about Catalan (Crameri, 2008; Strubell, 2001). Equally, Welsh language broadcasting is acknowledged to have contributed to language revitalisation (Grin & Vaillancourt, 1999). As discussed in chapter five, some respondents felt unable to take their Valencian acquisition beyond the classroom due to a perception that Valencian is not used in such contexts. However, if the language is visible and audible in a public

domain, this will influence positive language beliefs. In the long run, this will improve language practices and motivate further acquisition of the language (Strubell, 2001).

However, whilst recent political changes may prompt sociolinguistic developments, it is not possible to accurately assess what will happen next in terms of language policy in Alicante. As has been mentioned throughout the thesis, when assessing a sociolinguistic setting, it is necessary to adopt a broad view of language policy and there are many factors, both internal and external, at play in its formulation (Shohamy, 2006). For example, as discussed in chapter five, the media situation is ongoing and any developments will have an impact on future language policy. As has been discussed, this study suggests that there is demand for audio-visual media provision and the regional government has outlined its intention to reintroduce RTVV; however, any decisions are dependent on additional factors, particularly financial considerations. Fieldwork data suggest that a linguistic citizenship approach (Stroud, 2001; Stroud & Heugh, 2004) has the potential to prompt change in terms of future language policy in Alicante, rather than traditional top-down policy. Such an approach may be valuable in this research context due to the constraints of financial and political circumstances. Equally, previous grassroots movements have had a degree of success in the Valencian context, as commented upon in chapter three.

Therefore, whilst it is not possible to predict with accuracy the future sociolinguistic setting in Alicante, it can be said that local language policy continues in a period of transition. Given this context, it would be valuable to continue to monitor the local sociolinguistic setting, and assess it at regular intervals, in order to see how language policy in Alicante continues to progress. Such findings would be beneficial to other communities undergoing language revitalisation efforts, particularly those where official language statements have been made, but have not necessarily been observed.

#### 6.4 Next Steps and Plans for Future Research

As mentioned in chapter five, within the confines of a thesis it is not possible to pursue every aspect that emerged from fieldwork data. Instead, after careful data

analysis, various themes were selected to be discussed in detail in order to provide an assessment of current language policy in Alicante. This project has generated a lot of original research, and as such, there are many other strands of this research area that deserve to be studied in future in greater depth. For example, as discussed in chapter four, the fieldwork questionnaire was divided into three sections, which correspond to Spolsky's (2004) components of language policy (language practices, language beliefs, language management). Responses to questions about language management were drawn upon in the discussion of linguistic citizenship (Stroud, 2001; Stroud & Heugh, 2004). However, this study generated additional data about respondents' awareness of language management, which deserve further analysis. Additionally, it is intended that the various themes explored in this thesis will be elaborated upon further to produce a number of academic journal articles.

The aim of this study was to collect data from a range of speaker profiles in order to gain a broad view of language policy. A judgement sample of respondents was selected in order to reflect local demographics and the research criteria of the study (Hoffmann, 2014: 31), and as discussed in chapter four, a number of fieldwork respondents, who acquired Valencian through formal study as adults, matched the characteristics of new speakers. Future research could focus on such speaker groups in greater depth and sociolinguistic variables could be isolated in order to gain a more nuanced perspective of language policy. For example, recent research in the Galician, Basque and Catalan contexts has addressed the emergence of new speakers (see O'Rourke & Ramallo, 2015; Ortega et al., 2015; Pujolar & Puigdevall, 2015). A similar project could be carried out in the Valencian context in order to ascertain whether the motivations and experiences of new speakers correspond with those in other Spanish regions. For example, studies in the Basque and Catalan contexts note the newly acquired instrumental value of the regional language and the resulting attitudes towards the language. As discussed in earlier chapters, these contexts differ to the Valencian setting where Valencian acquisition is a right, but not a duty. As such, further comparisons between language revitalisation in the Valencian Community and other regions of Spain could be made. Utilising focus groups, rather than administering questionnaires individually, would reveal the dynamics of



language learning groups, their motivations and attitudes, and how they perceive themselves in relation to other speaker profiles.

Additionally, fieldwork data revealed that at present the position of languages within an individual's linguistic repertoire may vary from one generation to the next as a reflection of different educational experiences. For example, respondents C7 and C8 were mother and son and respondents C20 and C21 were daughter and mother. In both cases, the children had studied Valencian formally at school, whereas the parents had not; instead, they had undertaken some formal study of Valencian in adulthood. Further assessment of the changing position of Valencian in the linguistic repertoire amongst family groups would provide an even greater understanding of language policy in Alicante and how factors operate at the most local level, within the home, to influence the overall sociolinguistic setting. Asking future respondents to write linguistic autobiographies (Groppaldi, 2010; Pavlenko, 2007) would provide additional detail and reflection and would encourage further engagement with this subject and language matters.

## 6.5 Final Comments

To conclude, language policy in Alicante is complex due, in part, to the considerable social and political change experienced as a result of the transition to democracy. As discussed throughout the course of this thesis, such changes over the last forty years have resulted in the existence of multiple and overlapping language practices, language beliefs, and language management. As such, it is not possible to identify one language policy in isolation; rather different mechanisms operate at various levels to inform the current language setting (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Shohamy, 2006).

Although this study suggests that ideologies and proficiency inherited from the past remain influential, the three components of Spolsky's framework continue to evolve as more people are exposed to Valencian. The introduction of Valencian into schools, and the resulting formal acquisition of the language, is perhaps one of the most significant outcomes of language legislation. Whilst increased Valencian acquisition may not have resulted in increased social use of the language, it has led

to greater language competence, improved sociolinguistic awareness, and the elaboration of new speaker profiles. This in turn has resulted in a variety of new language practices and beliefs. Consequently, language policy in Alicante is multi-layered and remains an exciting research topic. Thus, it deserves to be the subject of future study in order to assess how the sociolinguistic setting will continue to develop. It will be of research interest to observe how language policy in Alicante will react to external circumstances, such as political and financial factors, and internal influences, such as changing speaker profiles, and how sociolinguistic circumstances will continue to develop as a result.

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## Appendix 1 – Fieldwork Questionnaire in Castilian

### Preguntas generales

*Elija la opción más adecuada:*

#### 1. ¿Usted es...?

hombre ☐

mujer ☐

#### 2. ¿Cuántos años tiene?

18-30 años ☐

31 – 40 años ☐

41 – 50 años ☐

51 – 60 años ☐

61 – 70 años ☐

71 años o más ☐

#### 3. ¿Dónde vive?

Localidad \_\_\_\_\_

Provincia \_\_\_\_\_

#### 4. ¿Cuántos años ha vivido en la Comunidad Valenciana?

20 años o menos ☐

21 – 30 años ☐

31 – 40 años ☐

41 – 50 años ☐

51 – 60 años ☐

61 – 70 años ☐

71 años o más ☐

#### 5. Describa su ocupación actual:

empleado ☐

estudiante ☐

me ocupo de la familia ☐

desempleado ☐

jubilado ☐

otro \_\_\_\_\_

¿Dónde trabaja o estudia usted? \_\_\_\_\_

#### 6. ¿Cuál es su nivel de estudios?

sin estudios ☐

primarios ☐

bachillerato elemental ☐

FP ☐

bachillerato superior ☐

universitarios medios ☐

universitarios superiores ☐

#### 7. ¿Dónde nació su madre? \_\_\_\_\_

**8. ¿Habla o hablaba su madre valenciano?**

Sí ☐ No ☐

**9. Describa la ocupación de su madre:**

empleada ☐ \_\_\_\_\_  
 estudiante ☐ se ocupa de la familia ☐ desempleada ☐  
 jubilada ☐ otro \_\_\_\_\_  
 no sé ☐

**10. Describa el nivel de estudios de su madre:**

sin estudios ☐ primarios ☐ bachillerato elemental ☐  
 FP ☐ bachillerato superior ☐ universitarios medios ☐  
 universitarios superiores ☐

**11. ¿Dónde nació su padre? \_\_\_\_\_****12. ¿Habla o hablaba su padre valenciano?**

Sí ☐ No ☐

**13. Describa la ocupación de su padre:**

empleado ☐ \_\_\_\_\_  
 estudiante ☐ se ocupa de la familia ☐ desempleado ☐  
 jubilado ☐ otro \_\_\_\_\_  
 no sé ☐

**14. Describa el nivel de estudios de su padre:**

sin estudios ☐ primarios ☐ bachillerato elemental ☐  
 FP ☐ bachillerato superior ☐ universitarios medios ☐  
 universitarios superiores ☐

Conocimiento del valenciano*Elija la opción adecuada:***1. ¿Se considera como hablante nativo del valenciano?**sí ☐ no ☐**2. ¿Entiende el valenciano?**

no, nada ☐

sí, un poco ☐

sí, bastante bien ☐

sí, muy bien ☐

sí, perfectamente/ sin problemas ☐

**3. ¿Sabe hablar en valenciano?**

no, nada ☐

sí, un poco ☐

sí, bastante bien ☐

sí, muy bien ☐

sí, perfectamente/ sin problemas ☐

**4. ¿Sabe leer en valenciano?**

no, nada ☐

sí, un poco ☐

sí, bastante bien ☐

sí, muy bien ☐

sí, perfectamente/ sin problemas ☐

**5. ¿Sabe escribir en valenciano?**

no, nada ☐

sí, un poco ☐

sí, bastante bien ☐

sí, muy bien ☐

sí, perfectamente/ sin problemas ☐

**6. ¿De quién ha aprendido el valenciano? (Elija todas las opciones necesarias)**

los padres ☐ los abuelos ☐ los amigos ☐  
los profesores ☐ los compañeros de trabajo ☐  
otros \_\_\_\_\_

El uso del valenciano y el castellano

*Elija la opción correcta:*

**1. ¿Qué lengua habla con...?****sus padres**

- siempre valenciano ☐
- generalmente valenciano ☐
- las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente castellano ☐
- siempre castellano ☐

**sus abuelos**

- siempre valenciano ☐
- generalmente valenciano ☐
- las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente castellano ☐
- siempre castellano ☐

**sus hermanos**

- siempre valenciano ☐
- generalmente valenciano ☐
- las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente castellano ☐
- siempre castellano ☐

**su marido/mujer**

- siempre valenciano ☐
- generalmente valenciano ☐
- las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente castellano ☐
- siempre castellano ☐

**sus hijos**

- |                                 |                          |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| siempre valenciano              | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generalmente valenciano         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| las dos lenguas indistintamente | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generalmente castellano         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| siempre castellano              | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**sus mascotas/animales**

- |                                 |                          |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| siempre valenciano              | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generalmente valenciano         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| las dos lenguas indistintamente | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generalmente castellano         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| siempre castellano              | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**sus amigos**

- |                                 |                          |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| siempre valenciano              | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generalmente valenciano         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| las dos lenguas indistintamente | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generalmente castellano         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| siempre castellano              | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**sus vecinos**

- |                                 |                          |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| siempre valenciano              | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generalmente valenciano         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| las dos lenguas indistintamente | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generalmente castellano         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| siempre castellano              | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**los conocidos**

- |                                 |                          |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| siempre valenciano              | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generalmente valenciano         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| las dos lenguas indistintamente | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generalmente castellano         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| siempre castellano              | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**los desconocidos (por ejemplo cuando está en la calle y necesita ayuda o pide****direcciones)**

- |                                 |                          |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| siempre valenciano              | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generalmente valenciano         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| las dos lenguas indistintamente | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generalmente castellano         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| siempre castellano              | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**2. ¿Qué lengua habla en ...?****casa**

- |                                 |                          |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| siempre valenciano              | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generalmente valenciano         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| las dos lenguas indistintamente | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generalmente castellano         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| siempre castellano              | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**un cafetería/un bar**

- |                                 |                          |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| siempre valenciano              | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generalmente valenciano         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| las dos lenguas indistintamente | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generalmente castellano         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| siempre castellano              | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**un restaurante**

- |                                 |                          |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| siempre valenciano              | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generalmente valenciano         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| las dos lenguas indistintamente | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generalmente castellano         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| siempre castellano              | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**el supermercado**

- siempre valenciano ☐
- generalmente valenciano ☐
- las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente castellano ☐
- siempre castellano ☐

**el mercado**

- siempre valenciano ☐
- generalmente valenciano ☐
- las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente castellano ☐
- siempre castellano ☐

**las tiendas del barrio**

- siempre valenciano ☐
- generalmente valenciano ☐
- las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente castellano ☐
- siempre castellano ☐

**las grandes superficies (por ejemplo los grandes almacenes o el centro comercial)**

- siempre valenciano ☐
- generalmente valenciano ☐
- las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente castellano ☐
- siempre castellano ☐

**el banco**

- siempre valenciano ☐
- generalmente valenciano ☐
- las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente castellano ☐
- siempre castellano ☐



**la oficina de correos**

- siempre valenciano ☐
- generalmente valenciano ☐
- las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente castellano ☐
- siempre castellano ☐

**la iglesia**

- siempre valenciano ☐
- generalmente valenciano ☐
- las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente castellano ☐
- siempre castellano ☐

**el médico**

- siempre valenciano ☐
- generalmente valenciano ☐
- las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente castellano ☐
- siempre castellano ☐

**la biblioteca**

- siempre valenciano ☐
- generalmente valenciano ☐
- las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente castellano ☐
- siempre castellano ☐

**las actividades recreativas (hacer deporte, asistir a un partido de fútbol o un concierto,****salir por la noche)**

- siempre valenciano ☐
- generalmente valenciano ☐
- las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente castellano ☐
- siempre castellano ☐

**el colegio (en las aulas)**

- siempre valenciano ☐
- generalmente valenciano ☐
- las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente castellano ☐
- siempre castellano ☐

**el colegio (fuera del aula)**

- siempre valenciano ☐
- generalmente valenciano ☐
- las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente castellano ☐
- siempre castellano ☐

**oficinas públicas (por ejemplo el ayuntamiento, la comisaría)**

- siempre valenciano ☐
- generalmente valenciano ☐
- las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente castellano ☐
- siempre castellano ☐

**3. ¿Qué lengua utiliza para...?****pensar**

- siempre valenciano ☐
- generalmente valenciano ☐
- las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente castellano ☐
- siempre castellano ☐

**contar ocurrencias del día a día**

- siempre valenciano ☐
- generalmente valenciano ☐
- las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente castellano ☐
- siempre castellano ☐

**hablar sobre la política**

- siempre valenciano ☐
- generalmente valenciano ☐
- las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente castellano ☐
- siempre castellano ☐

**hablar sobre cosas tradicionales de Alicante (por ejemplo la comida o las fiestas)**

- siempre valenciano ☐
- generalmente valenciano ☐
- las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente castellano ☐
- siempre castellano ☐

**contar mentalmente**

- siempre valenciano ☐
- generalmente valenciano ☐
- las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente castellano ☐
- siempre castellano ☐

**expresar alegría**

- siempre valenciano ☐
- generalmente valenciano ☐
- las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente castellano ☐
- siempre castellano ☐

**expresar tristeza**

- siempre valenciano ☐
- generalmente valenciano ☐
- las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente castellano ☐
- siempre castellano ☐

**expresar humor**

- siempre valenciano ☐
- generalmente valenciano ☐
- las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente castellano ☐
- siempre castellano ☐

**expresar enfado**

- siempre valenciano ☐
- generalmente valenciano ☐
- las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente castellano ☐
- siempre castellano ☐

**4. ¿En qué lengua lee...?****una novela**

- siempre en valenciano ☐
- generalmente en valenciano ☐
- en las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente en castellano ☐
- siempre en castellano ☐

**un libro de ensayo**

- siempre en valenciano ☐
- generalmente en valenciano ☐
- en las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente en castellano ☐
- siempre en castellano ☐

**una revista**

- siempre en valenciano ☐
- generalmente en valenciano ☐
- en las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente en castellano ☐
- siempre en castellano ☐

**un periódico**

- siempre en valenciano ☐
- generalmente en valenciano ☐
- en las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente en castellano ☐
- siempre en castellano ☐

**publicidad o folletos**

- siempre en valenciano ☐
- generalmente en valenciano ☐
- en las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente en castellano ☐
- siempre en castellano ☐

**5. ¿Si pudiera elegir libremente entre el castellano y el valenciano, en qué lengua preferiría leer...?**

**una novela**

- en castellano ☐
- en valenciano ☐
- no tengo ninguna preferencia ☐

**un libro de ensayo**

- en castellano ☐
- en valenciano ☐
- no tengo ninguna preferencia ☐

**una revista**

- en castellano ☐
- en valenciano ☐
- no tengo ninguna una preferencia ☐

**un periódico**

- en castellano ☐
- en valenciano ☐
- no tengo ninguna preferencia ☐

**publicidad o folletos**

- en castellano ☐
- en valenciano ☐
- no tengo ninguna preferencia ☐

**6. ¿En qué lengua escribe...?****una carta (personal)**

- siempre en valenciano ☐
- generalmente en valenciano ☐
- en las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente en castellano ☐
- siempre en castellano ☐

**una carta (formal)**

- siempre en valenciano ☐
- generalmente en valenciano ☐
- en las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente en castellano ☐
- siempre en castellano ☐

**una postal**

- siempre en valenciano ☐
- generalmente en valenciano ☐
- en las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente en castellano ☐
- siempre en castellano ☐

**notas de carácter general**

- siempre en valenciano ☐
- generalmente en valenciano ☐
- en las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente en castellano ☐
- siempre en castellano ☐

**un SMS**

- siempre en valenciano ☐
- generalmente en valenciano ☐
- en las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente en castellano ☐
- siempre en castellano ☐

**Un correo electrónico**

- siempre en valenciano ☐
- generalmente en valenciano ☐
- en las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente en castellano ☐
- siempre en castellano ☐

**7. ¿En cuanto a internet, qué lengua utiliza...?****en la página inicial del navegador**

- siempre valenciano ☐
- generalmente valenciano ☐
- las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente castellano ☐
- siempre castellano ☐

**en las redes sociales**

- siempre valenciano ☐
- generalmente valenciano ☐
- las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente castellano ☐
- siempre castellano ☐

**en un buscador (por ejemplo Google)**

- siempre valenciano ☐
- generalmente valenciano ☐
- las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente castellano ☐
- siempre castellano ☐

**en los sitios web donde se puede elegir el idioma**

- siempre valenciano ☐
- generalmente valenciano ☐
- las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente castellano ☐
- siempre castellano ☐

**8. ¿En qué lengua ve la televisión?**

- siempre en valenciano ☐
- generalmente en valenciano ☐
- en las dos lenguas indistintamente ☐
- generalmente en castellano ☐
- siempre en castellano ☐

**9. ¿Si pudiera elegir libremente entre el valenciano y el castellano, en qué lengua preferiría ver la televisión?**

- en castellano ☐
- en valenciano ☐
- no tengo ninguna preferencia ☐



**10. ¿En qué lengua escucha la radio?**

- siempre en valenciano ☐
- generalmente en valenciano ☐
- en las dos lenguas igualmente ☐
- generalmente en castellano ☐
- siempre en castellano ☐

**11. ¿Si pudiera elegir libremente entre el valenciano y el castellano, en qué lengua preferiría escuchar la radio?**

- en castellano ☐
- en valenciano ☐
- no tengo ninguna preferencia ☐

Actitudes lingüísticas

Valore las frases siguientes y elija la respuesta correcta:

**1. Me gusta utilizar el valenciano.**

- totalmente de acuerdo ☐
- de acuerdo ☐
- indiferente ☐
- en desacuerdo ☐
- totalmente en desacuerdo ☐

**2. Me siento vinculado/a al valenciano.**

- totalmente de acuerdo ☐
- de acuerdo ☐
- indiferente ☐
- en desacuerdo ☐
- totalmente en desacuerdo ☐

**3. Me siento cómodo/a cuando utilizo el valenciano.**

- totalmente de acuerdo ☐
- de acuerdo ☐
- indiferente ☐
- en desacuerdo ☐
- totalmente en desacuerdo ☐

**4. Me gustaría utilizar el valenciano con más frecuencia.**

- totalmente de acuerdo ☐
- de acuerdo ☐
- indiferente ☐
- en desacuerdo ☐
- totalmente en desacuerdo ☐

**5. Intento promover y proteger el valenciano.**

- totalmente de acuerdo ☐
- de acuerdo ☐
- indiferente ☐
- en desacuerdo ☐
- totalmente en desacuerdo ☐

**6. Es una ventaja conocer el valenciano.**

- totalmente de acuerdo ☐
- de acuerdo ☐
- indiferente ☐
- en desacuerdo ☐
- totalmente en desacuerdo ☐

**7. El valenciano es una lengua importante en la provincia de Alicante.**

- totalmente de acuerdo ☐
- de acuerdo ☐
- indiferente ☐
- en desacuerdo ☐
- totalmente en desacuerdo ☐

**8. Hay que hablar el valenciano para ser valenciano.**

- totalmente de acuerdo ☐
- de acuerdo ☐
- indiferente ☐
- en desacuerdo ☐
- totalmente en desacuerdo ☐

**9. El valenciano es una parte importante de nuestra identidad.**

- totalmente de acuerdo ☐
- de acuerdo ☐
- indiferente ☐
- en desacuerdo ☐
- totalmente en desacuerdo ☐

**10. Es mejor hablar valenciano no estándar que no hablar valenciano en absoluto.**

- totalmente de acuerdo ☐
- de acuerdo ☐
- indiferente ☐
- en desacuerdo ☐
- totalmente en desacuerdo ☐

**11. El valenciano puede funcionar como una lengua moderna.**

- totalmente de acuerdo ☐
- de acuerdo ☐
- indiferente ☐
- en desacuerdo ☐
- totalmente en desacuerdo ☐

**12. El valenciano es una lengua prestigiosa.**

- totalmente de acuerdo ☐
- de acuerdo ☐
- indiferente ☐
- en desacuerdo ☐
- totalmente en desacuerdo ☐

**13. El castellano y el valenciano tienen el mismo prestigio.**

- totalmente de acuerdo ☐
- de acuerdo ☐
- indiferente ☐
- en desacuerdo ☐
- totalmente en desacuerdo ☐

**14. El valenciano es una lengua bonita.**

- totalmente de acuerdo ☐
- de acuerdo ☐
- indiferente ☐
- en desacuerdo ☐
- totalmente en desacuerdo ☐

La planificación lingüística

Valore las frases siguientes:

**1. Es importante proteger y recuperar el valenciano en la provincia de Alicante.**

- totalmente de acuerdo ☐
- de acuerdo ☐
- indiferente ☐
- en desacuerdo ☐
- totalmente en desacuerdo ☐

**2. El valenciano está desapareciendo en la provincia de Alicante y no vale la pena recuperarlo.**

- totalmente de acuerdo ☐
- de acuerdo ☐
- indiferente ☐
- en desacuerdo ☐
- totalmente en desacuerdo ☐

**3. Hasta ahora, la recuperación del valenciano ha tenido éxito en la provincia de Alicante.**

- totalmente de acuerdo ☐
- de acuerdo ☐
- indiferente ☐
- en desacuerdo ☐
- totalmente en desacuerdo ☐

**4. Es importante utilizar el valenciano en casa con la familia.**

- totalmente de acuerdo ☐
- de acuerdo ☐
- indiferente ☐
- en desacuerdo ☐
- totalmente en desacuerdo ☐

**5. Es importante utilizar el valenciano en acontecimientos culturales.**

- totalmente de acuerdo ☐
- de acuerdo ☐
- indiferente ☐
- en desacuerdo ☐
- totalmente en desacuerdo ☐

**6. Es importante utilizar el valenciano en el colegio.**

- totalmente de acuerdo ☐
- de acuerdo ☐
- indiferente ☐
- en desacuerdo ☐
- totalmente en desacuerdo ☐

**7. Es importante utilizar el valenciano en la universidad.**

- totalmente de acuerdo ☐
- de acuerdo ☐
- indiferente ☐
- en desacuerdo ☐
- totalmente en desacuerdo ☐

**8. Es importante utilizar el valenciano en los medios de comunicación.**

- totalmente de acuerdo ☐
- de acuerdo ☐
- indiferente ☐
- en desacuerdo ☐
- totalmente en desacuerdo ☐

**9. Es importante utilizar el valenciano en la administración pública.**

- totalmente de acuerdo ☐
- de acuerdo ☐
- indiferente ☐
- en desacuerdo ☐
- totalmente en desacuerdo ☐

**10. Es importante que los jóvenes alicantinos aprendan el valenciano.**

- totalmente de acuerdo ☐
- de acuerdo ☐
- indiferente ☐
- en desacuerdo ☐
- totalmente en desacuerdo ☐

**11. ¿Quién es responsable de la recuperación del valenciano?****La Generalitat Valenciana**

- totalmente de acuerdo ☐
- de acuerdo ☐
- indiferente ☐
- en desacuerdo ☐
- totalmente en desacuerdo ☐

**La gente**

- totalmente de acuerdo ☐
- de acuerdo ☐
- indiferente ☐
- en desacuerdo ☐
- totalmente en desacuerdo ☐

**Los profesores**

- totalmente de acuerdo ☐
- de acuerdo ☐
- indiferente ☐
- en desacuerdo ☐
- totalmente en desacuerdo ☐

**Las organizaciones lingüísticas**

- totalmente de acuerdo ☐
- de acuerdo ☐
- indiferente ☐
- en desacuerdo ☐
- totalmente en desacuerdo ☐

**Los empresarios**

- totalmente de acuerdo ☐
- de acuerdo ☐
- indiferente ☐
- en desacuerdo ☐
- totalmente en desacuerdo ☐

**12. La Generalitat Valenciana ha adoptado las medidas necesarias para  
promover el valenciano y asegurar su conocimiento en la provincia de Alicante.**

- totalmente de acuerdo ☐
- de acuerdo ☐
- indiferente ☐
- en desacuerdo ☐
- totalmente en desacuerdo ☐



**13. El valenciano y el castellano deben continuar como lenguas oficiales en la provincia de Alicante.**

- |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| totalmente de acuerdo    | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| de acuerdo               | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| indiferente              | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| en desacuerdo            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| totalmente en desacuerdo | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**14. Actualmente en la provincia de Alicante existe el uso normal y oficial del castellano y del valenciano.**

- |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| totalmente de acuerdo    | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| de acuerdo               | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| indiferente              | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| en desacuerdo            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| totalmente en desacuerdo | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**15. La provincia de Alicante necesita su propia legislación lingüística, en vez de tener legislación para toda la Comunidad Valenciana.**

- |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| totalmente de acuerdo    | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| de acuerdo               | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| indiferente              | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| en desacuerdo            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| totalmente en desacuerdo | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**16. Existen oportunidades suficientes para utilizar el valenciano.**

- |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| totalmente de acuerdo    | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| de acuerdo               | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| indiferente              | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| en desacuerdo            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| totalmente en desacuerdo | <input type="checkbox"/> |

## Appendix 2 – Fieldwork Questionnaire in Valencian

### Preguntes generals

*Elegeixca l'opció adequada:*

#### 1. Vosté és...?

home ☐ dona ☐

#### 2. Quants anys té?

18-30 anys ☐ 31 – 40 anys ☐ 41 – 50 anys ☐ 51 – 60 ☐

61 – 70 anys ☐ 71 anys o més ☐

#### 3. On viu?

Localitat \_\_\_\_\_ Província \_\_\_\_\_

#### 4. Molts anys ha viscut a la Comunitat Valenciana?

20 anys o menys ☐ 21 – 30 anys ☐ 31 – 40 anys ☐

41 – 50 anys ☐ 51 – 60 anys ☐ 61 – 70 anys ☐

71 anys o més ☐

#### 5. Descriga la seua ocupació actual:

empleat ☐ estudiant ☐ m'ocupe de la família ☐

desocupat ☐ jubilat ☐ altre \_\_\_\_\_

On treballa o estudia? \_\_\_\_\_

#### 6. Quin és el seu nivell d'estudis?

sense estudis ☐ primaris ☐ batxillerat elemental ☐

FP ☐ batxillerat superior ☐ universitaris mitjans ☐

universitaris superiors ☐

#### 7. On nasqué la seua mare? \_\_\_\_\_

**8. Parla o parlava la seua mare valencià?**

Sí ☐ No ☐

**9. Descruga la ocupació de la seua mare:**

empleada ☐ estudiant ☐ s'ocupe de la família ☐  
 desocupada ☐ jubilada ☐ altre \_\_\_\_\_  
 no sé ☐

**10. Descruga el nivell d'estudis de la seua mare:**

sense estudis ☐ primaris ☐ batxillerat elemental ☐  
 FP ☐ batxillerat superior ☐ universitaris mitjans ☐  
 universitaris superiors ☐

**11. On nasqué el seu pare? \_\_\_\_\_****12. Parla o parlava el seu pare valencià?**

Sí ☐ No ☐

**13. Descruga la ocupació del seu pare:**

empleat ☐ estudiant ☐ s'ocupe de la família ☐  
 desocupat ☐ jubilat ☐ altre \_\_\_\_\_  
 no sé ☐

**14. Descruga el nivell d'estudis del seu pare:**

sense estudis ☐ primaris ☐ batxillerat elemental ☐  
 FP ☐ batxillerat superior ☐ universitaris mitjans ☐  
 universitaris superiors ☐

### Coneixement del valencià

*Elegeixca l'opció adequada:*

**1. Es considera parlant natiu del valencià?**

sí ☐ no ☐

**2. Enten el valencià?**

no, gens ☐  
 sí, un poc ☐  
 sí, prou bé ☐  
 sí, molt bé ☐  
 sí, perfectament/ sense problemes ☐

**3. Sap parlar en valencià?**

no, gens ☐  
 sí, un poc ☐  
 sí, prou bé ☐  
 sí, molt bé ☐  
 sí, perfectament/ sense problemes ☐

**4. Sap llegir en valencià?**

no, gens ☐  
 sí, un poc ☐  
 sí, prou bé ☐  
 sí, molt bé ☐  
 sí, perfectament/ sense problemes ☐

**5. Sap escriure en valencià?**

no, gens ☐  
 sí, un poc ☐  
 sí, prou bé ☐  
 sí, molt bé ☐  
 sí, perfectament/ sense problemes ☐

**6. De qui ha après el valencià? (Elegeixca totes les opcions necessàries)**els pares ☐els avis ☐els amics ☐els professors ☐els companys de treball ☐

altres \_\_\_\_\_

L'ús del valencià i el castellà

*Elegeixca l'opció adequada:*

**1. Què llengua parla amb...?**

**els seus pares**

- |                                  |                          |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| sempre valencià                  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generalment valencià             | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| les dues llengües indistintament | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generalment castellà             | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| sempre castellà                  | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**els seus avis**

- |                                  |                          |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| sempre valencià                  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generalment valencià             | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| les dues llengües indistintament | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generalment castellà             | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| sempre castellà                  | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**els seus germans**

- |                                  |                          |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| sempre valencià                  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generalment valencià             | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| les dues llengües indistintament | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generalment castellà             | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| sempre castellà                  | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**el seu marit/ la seua dona**

- |                                  |                          |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| sempre valencià                  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generalment valencià             | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| les dues llengües indistintament | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generalment castellà             | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| sempre castellà                  | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**els seus fills**

- sempre valencià ☐
- generalment valencià ☐
- les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment castellà ☐
- sempre castellà ☐

**els seus mascotes/animals**

- sempre valencià ☐
- generalment valencià ☐
- les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment castellà ☐
- sempre castellà ☐

**els seus amics**

- sempre valencià ☐
- generalment valencià ☐
- les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment castellà ☐
- sempre castellà ☐

**els seus veïns**

- sempre valencià ☐
- generalment valencià ☐
- les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment castellà ☐
- sempre castellà ☐

**els seus coneguts**

- sempre valencià ☐
- generalment valencià ☐
- les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment castellà ☐
- sempre castellà ☐

**desconeputs (per exemple, quan està al carrer i necessita ajuda o demana direccions)**

- |                                  |                          |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| sempre valencià                  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generalment valencià             | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| les dues llengües indistintament | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generalment castellà             | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| sempre castellà                  | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**2. Què llengua parla en...?****casa**

- |                                  |                          |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| sempre valencià                  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generalment valencià             | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| les dues llengües indistintament | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generalment castellà             | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| sempre castellà                  | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**un cafeteria/un bar**

- |                                  |                          |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| sempre valencià                  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generalment valencià             | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| les dues llengües indistintament | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generalment castellà             | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| sempre castellà                  | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**un restaurant**

- |                                  |                          |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| sempre valencià                  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generalment valencià             | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| les dues llengües indistintament | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generalment castellà             | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| sempre castellà                  | <input type="checkbox"/> |



**el supermercat**

- sempre valencià ☐
- generalment valencià ☐
- les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment castellà ☐
- sempre castellà ☐

**el mercat**

- sempre valencià ☐
- generalment valencià ☐
- les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment castellà ☐
- sempre castellà ☐

**les tendes del barri**

- sempre valencià ☐
- generalment valencià ☐
- les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment castellà ☐
- sempre castellà ☐

**les grans superfícies (per exemple els grans magatzems o el centre comercial)**

- sempre valencià ☐
- generalment valencià ☐
- les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment castellà ☐
- sempre castellà ☐

**el banc**

- sempre valencià ☐
- generalment valencià ☐
- les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment castellà ☐
- sempre castellà ☐

**l'oficina de correus**

- sempre valencià ☐
- generalment valencià ☐
- les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment castellà ☐
- sempre castellà ☐

**l'església**

- sempre valencià ☐
- generalment valencià ☐
- les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment castellà ☐
- sempre castellà ☐

**el metge**

- sempre valencià ☐
- generalment valencià ☐
- les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment castellà ☐
- sempre castellà ☐

**la biblioteca**

- sempre valencià ☐
- generalment valencià ☐
- les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment castellà ☐
- sempre castellà ☐

**les activitats recreatives (l'esport, un partit de futbol o un concert, eixir per la nit)**

- sempre valencià ☐
- generalment valencià ☐
- les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment castellà ☐
- sempre castellà ☐

**l'escola (a les aules)**

- sempre valencià ☐
- generalment valencià ☐
- les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment castellà ☐
- sempre castellà ☐

**l'escola (fora de l'aula)**

- sempre valencià ☐
- generalment valencià ☐
- les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment castellà ☐
- sempre castellà ☐

**en oficines públiques**

- sempre valencià ☐
- generalment valencià ☐
- les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment castellà ☐
- sempre castellà ☐

**3. Què llengua utilitza quan...?****pensa**

- sempre valencià ☐
- generalment valencià ☐
- les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment castellà ☐
- sempre castellà ☐

**explica ocurrencies del dia a dia**

- sempre valencià ☐
- generalment valencià ☐
- les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment castellà ☐
- sempre castellà ☐

**parla sobre política**

- sempre valencià ☐
- generalment valencià ☐
- les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment castellà ☐
- sempre castellà ☐

**parla sobre coses tradicionals d'Alacant (per exemple el menjar o les festes)**

- sempre valencià ☐
- generalment valencià ☐
- les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment castellà ☐
- sempre castellà ☐

**compta mentalment**

- sempre valencià ☐
- generalment valencià ☐
- les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment castellà ☐
- sempre castellà ☐

**expressa alegria**

- sempre valencià ☐
- generalment valencià ☐
- les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment castellà ☐
- sempre castellà ☐

**expressa tristesa**

- sempre valencià ☐
- generalment valencià ☐
- les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment castellà ☐
- sempre castellà ☐

**expressa humor**

- sempre valencià ☐
- generalment valencià ☐
- les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment castellà ☐
- sempre castellà ☐

**expressa enuig**

- sempre valencià ☐
- generalment valencià ☐
- les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment castellà ☐
- sempre castellà ☐

**4. En què llengua llegeix...?****una novel·la**

- sempre en valencià ☐
- generalment en valencià ☐
- en les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment en castellà ☐
- sempre en castellà ☐

**un llibre d'assaig**

- sempre en valencià ☐
- generalment en valencià ☐
- en les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment en castellà ☐
- sempre en castellà ☐

**una revista**

- sempre en valencià ☐
- generalment en valencià ☐
- en les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment en castellà ☐
- sempre en castellà ☐

**un diari**

- sempre en valencià ☐
- generalment en valencià ☐
- en les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment en castellà ☐
- sempre en castellà ☐

**publicitat o fullets**

- sempre en valencià ☐
- generalment en valencià ☐
- en les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment en castellà ☐
- sempre en castellà ☐

**5. Si poguera elegir lliurement entre el castellà i el valencià, en què llengua preferiria llegir...?**

**una novel·la**

- en castellà ☐
- en valencià ☐
- no tinc cap preferència ☐

**un llibre d'assaig**

- en castellà ☐
- en valencià ☐
- no tinc cap preferència ☐

**una revista**

- en castellà ☐
- en valencià ☐
- no tinc cap preferència ☐

**un diari**

- en castellà ☐
- en valencià ☐
- no tinc cap preferència ☐

**publicitat o fullets**

- en castellà ☐
- en valencià ☐
- no tinc cap preferència ☐

**6. En què llengua escriu...?****una carta (personal)**

- sempre en valencià ☐
- generalment en valencià ☐
- en les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment en castellà ☐
- sempre en castellà ☐

**una carta (formal)**

- sempre en valencià ☐
- generalment en valencià ☐
- en les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment en castellà ☐
- sempre en castellà ☐

**una postal**

- sempre en valencià ☐
- generalment en valencià ☐
- en les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment en castellà ☐
- sempre en castellà ☐

**notes de caràcter general**

- sempre en valencià ☐
- generalment en valencià ☐
- en les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment en castellà ☐
- sempre en castellà ☐

**un SMS**

- sempre en valencià ☐
- generalment en valencià ☐
- en les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment en castellà ☐
- sempre en castellà ☐

**Un correu electrònic**

- sempre en valencià ☐
- generalment en valencià ☐
- en les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment en castellà ☐
- sempre en castellà ☐

**7. Quant a l'internet, què llengua utilitza...?****en la pàgina inicial del navegador**

- sempre valencià ☐
- generalment valencià ☐
- les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment castellà ☐
- sempre castellà ☐

**en les xarxes socials**

- sempre valencià ☐
- generalment valencià ☐
- les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment castellà ☐
- sempre castellà ☐



**en un motor de recerca (per exemple Google)**

- sempre valencià ☐
- generalment valencià ☐
- les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment castellà ☐
- sempre castellà ☐

**en els llocs web on es pot elegir l'idioma**

- sempre valencià ☐
- generalment valencià ☐
- les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment castellà ☐
- sempre castellà ☐

**8. En qué llengua veu la televisió?**

- sempre en valencià ☐
- generalment en valencià ☐
- en les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment en castellà ☐
- sempre en castellà ☐

**9. Si poguera elegir lliurement entre el valencià i el castellà, en què llengua preferiria veure la televisió?**

- en castellà ☐
- en valencià ☐
- no tinc cap preferència ☐

**10. En què llengua escolta la ràdio?**

- sempre en valencià ☐
- generalment en valencià ☐
- en les dues llengües indistintament ☐
- generalment en castellà ☐
- sempre en castellà ☐

**11. Si poguera elegir lliurement entre el valencià i el castellà, en què llengua preferiria escoltar la ràdio?**

- |                         |                          |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| en castellà             | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| en valencià             | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| no tinc cap preferència | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Actituds lingüístiques

Valore les frases següents i elegeixca l'opció adequada:

**1. M'agrada utilitzar el valencià.**

- totalment d'acord ☐
- d'acord ☐
- indiferent ☐
- en desacord ☐
- totalment en desacord ☐

**2. Em sent vinculat/vinculada al valencià.**

- totalment d'acord ☐
- d'acord ☐
- indiferent ☐
- en desacord ☐
- totalment en desacord ☐

**3. Estic còmode/a quant utilitze el valencià**

- totalment d'acord ☐
- d'acord ☐
- indiferent ☐
- en desacord ☐
- totalment en desacord ☐

**4. M'agradaria utilitzar el valencià amb més freqüència.**

- totalment d'acord ☐
- d'acord ☐
- indiferent ☐
- en desacord ☐
- totalment en desacord ☐

**5. Intente promoure i protegir el valencià.**

- totalment d'acord ☐
- d'acord ☐
- indiferent ☐
- en desacord ☐
- totalment en desacord ☐

**6. És un avantatge conèixer el valencià.**

- totalment d'acord ☐
- d'acord ☐
- indiferent ☐
- en desacord ☐
- totalment en desacord ☐

**7. El valencià és una llengua important a la província d'Alacant.**

- totalment d'acord ☐
- d'acord ☐
- indiferent ☐
- en desacord ☐
- totalment en desacord ☐

**8. És necessari parlar el valencià per ser valencià.**

- totalment d'acord ☐
- d'acord ☐
- indiferent ☐
- en desacord ☐
- totalment en desacord ☐

**9. El valencià és una part important de la nostra identitat.**

- totalment d'acord ☐
- d'acord ☐
- indiferent ☐
- en desacord ☐
- totalment en desacord ☐

**10. És millor parlar valencià no estàndard que no parlar valencià en absolut.**

totalment d'acord	<input type="checkbox"/>
d'acord	<input type="checkbox"/>
indiferent	<input type="checkbox"/>
en desacord	<input type="checkbox"/>
totalment en desacord	<input type="checkbox"/>

**11. El valencià pot funcionar com una llengua moderna.**

totalment d'acord	<input type="checkbox"/>
d'acord	<input type="checkbox"/>
indiferent	<input type="checkbox"/>
en desacord	<input type="checkbox"/>
totalment en desacord	<input type="checkbox"/>

**12. El valencià és una llengua de prestigi.**

totalment d'acord	<input type="checkbox"/>
d'acord	<input type="checkbox"/>
indiferent	<input type="checkbox"/>
en desacord	<input type="checkbox"/>
totalment en desacord	<input type="checkbox"/>

**13. El castellà i el valencià tenen el mateix prestigi.**

totalment d'acord	<input type="checkbox"/>
d'acord	<input type="checkbox"/>
indiferent	<input type="checkbox"/>
en desacord	<input type="checkbox"/>
totalment en desacord	<input type="checkbox"/>

**14. El valencià és una llengua bonica.**

totalment d'acord	<input type="checkbox"/>
d'acord	<input type="checkbox"/>
indiferent	<input type="checkbox"/>
en desacord	<input type="checkbox"/>
totalment en desacord	<input type="checkbox"/>

La planificació lingüística

*Valore les frases següents:*

**1. És important protegir i recuperar el valencià a la província d'Alacant.**

- totalment d'acord ☐
- d'acord ☐
- indiferent ☐
- en desacord ☐
- totalment en desacord ☐

**2. El valencià està en procés de desaparició a la província d'Alacant i no val la pena recuperar-lo.**

- totalment d'acord ☐
- d'acord ☐
- indiferent ☐
- en desacord ☐
- totalment en desacord ☐

**3. Fins ara, la recuperació del valencià ha tingut éxit a la província d'Alacant.**

- totalment d'acord ☐
- d'acord ☐
- indiferent ☐
- en desacord ☐
- totalment en desacord ☐

**4. És important utilitzar el valencià a casa amb la família.**

- totalment d'acord ☐
- d'acord ☐
- indiferent ☐
- en desacord ☐
- totalment en desacord ☐

**5. És important utilitzar el valencià en esdeveniments culturals.**

- totalment d'acord ☐
- d'acord ☐
- indiferent ☐
- en desacord ☐
- totalment en desacord ☐

**6. És important utilitzar el valencià a l'escola.**

- totalment d'acord ☐
- d'acord ☐
- indiferent ☐
- en desacord ☐
- totalment en desacord ☐

**7. És important utilitzar el valencià a la universitat.**

- totalment d'acord ☐
- d'acord ☐
- indiferent ☐
- en desacord ☐
- totalment en desacord ☐

**8. És important utilitzar el valencià en els mitjans de comunicació.**

- totalment d'acord ☐
- d'acord ☐
- indiferent ☐
- en desacord ☐
- totalment en desacord ☐

**9. És important utilitzar el valencià en l'administració pública.**

- totalment d'acord ☐
- d'acord ☐
- indiferent ☐
- en desacord ☐
- totalment en desacord ☐

**10. És important que els joves alacantins aprenguen el valencià.**

- totalment d'acord ☐
- d'acord ☐
- indiferent ☐
- en desacord ☐
- totalment en desacord ☐

**11. Qui és responsable de la recuperació del valencià?****La Generalitat Valenciana**

- totalment d'acord ☐
- d'acord ☐
- indiferent ☐
- en desacord ☐
- totalment en desacord ☐

**La gent**

- totalment d'acord ☐
- d'acord ☐
- indiferent ☐
- en desacord ☐
- totalment en desacord ☐

**Els professors**

- totalment d'acord ☐
- d'acord ☐
- indiferent ☐
- en desacord ☐
- totalment en desacord ☐

**Les organitzacions lingüístiques**

- totalment d'acord ☐
- d'acord ☐
- indiferent ☐
- en desacord ☐
- totalment en desacord ☐



**Els empresaris**

- totalment d'acord ☐
- d'acord ☐
- indiferent ☐
- en desacord ☐
- totalment en desacord ☐

**12. La Generalitat Valenciana ha adoptat les mesures necessàries per  
promoure el valencià i assegurar el seu coneixement a la província d'Alacant.**

- totalment d'acord ☐
- d'acord ☐
- indiferent ☐
- en desacord ☐
- totalment en desacord ☐

**13. El valencià i el castellà han de continuar com llengües oficials a la  
província d'Alacant.**

- totalment d'acord ☐
- d'acord ☐
- indiferent ☐
- en desacord ☐
- totalment en desacord ☐

**14. Actualment a la província d'Alacant es produeix un ús normal i oficial del castellà  
i del valencià.**

- totalment d'acord ☐
- d'acord ☐
- indiferent ☐
- en desacord ☐
- totalment en desacord ☐

**15. La província d'Alacant necessita la seua pròpia legislació lingüística, en comptes de la legislació comú a tota la Comunitat Valenciana.**

totalment d'acord	<input type="checkbox"/>
d'acord	<input type="checkbox"/>
indiferent	<input type="checkbox"/>
en desacord	<input type="checkbox"/>
totalment en desacord	<input type="checkbox"/>

**16. Hi ha oportunitats suficients per utilitzar el valencià.**

totalment d'acord	<input type="checkbox"/>
d'acord	<input type="checkbox"/>
indiferent	<input type="checkbox"/>
en desacord	<input type="checkbox"/>
totalment en desacord	<input type="checkbox"/>

## Appendix 3 – Fieldwork Questionnaire in English

### General Questions

Choose the most appropriate answer:

**1. Are you...?**

male ☐ female ☐

**2. How old are you?**

18-30 years ☐ 31 – 40 years ☐ 41 – 50 years ☐ 51 – 60 years ☐

61 – 70 years ☐ 71 years or more ☐

**3. Where do you live?**

Town \_\_\_\_\_ Province \_\_\_\_\_

**4. How long have you lived in the Valencian Community?**

20 years or less ☐ 21 – 30 years ☐ 31 – 40 years ☐

41 – 50 years ☐ 51 – 60 years ☐ 61 – 70 years ☐

71 years ☐

**5. Describe your current occupation:**

employed ☐ \_\_\_\_\_

student ☐ I look after the family ☐ unemployed ☐

retired ☐ other \_\_\_\_\_

**Where do you work/study?** \_\_\_\_\_

**6. What is your level of education?**

without studies ☐ primary school studies ☐ compulsory secondary studies ☐

vocational studies ☐ A-Level studies ☐ university degree ☐

postgraduate degree ☐

**7. Where was your mother born?**

\_\_\_\_\_

**8. Does or did your mother speak Valencian?**

Yes ☐ No ☐

**9. Describe your mother's occupation:**

employed ☐ \_\_\_\_\_  
 student ☐ looking after the family ☐ unemployed ☐  
 retired ☐ other \_\_\_\_\_  
 not sure ☐

**10. Describe your mother's level of education:**

without studies ☐ primary school studies ☐ compulsory secondary ☐  
 vocational studies ☐ A-Level studies ☐ studies ☐  
 postgraduate degree ☐ university degree ☐  
 not sure ☐

**11. Where was your father born?**

\_\_\_\_\_

**12.**

**13. Does or did your father speak Valencian?**

Yes ☐ No ☐

**14. Describe your father's occupation:**

employed ☐ \_\_\_\_\_  
 student ☐ looking after the family ☐ unemployed ☐  
 retired ☐ other \_\_\_\_\_  
 not sure ☐

**15. Describe your father's level of education:**

without studies	<input type="checkbox"/>	primary school studies	<input type="checkbox"/>	compulsory secondary studies	<input type="checkbox"/>
vocational studies	<input type="checkbox"/>	A-Level studies	<input type="checkbox"/>	university degree	<input type="checkbox"/>
postgraduate degree	<input type="checkbox"/>	not sure	<input type="checkbox"/>		

### Knowledge of Valencian

*Choose the most appropriate answer:*

**1. Do you consider yourself to be a native speaker of Valencian?**

yes ☐ no ☐

**2. Do you understand Valencian?**

no, not at all ☐  
 yes, a bit ☐  
 yes, quite well ☐  
 yes, very well ☐  
 yes, perfectly/without problems ☐

**3. Are you able to speak Valencian?**

no, not at all ☐  
 yes, a bit ☐  
 yes, quite well ☐  
 yes, very well ☐  
 yes, perfectly/without problems ☐

**4. Are you able to read in Valencian?**

no, not at all ☐  
 yes, a bit ☐  
 yes, quite well ☐  
 yes, very well ☐  
 yes, perfectly/without problems ☐

**5. Are you able to write in Valencian?**

no, not at all ☐  
 yes, a bit ☐  
 yes, quite well ☐  
 yes, very well ☐  
 yes, perfectly/without problems ☐

6. **From whom did you learn Valencian? (Choose as many options as necessary)**

parents ☐

grandparents ☐

friends ☐

teachers ☐

work colleagues ☐

other \_\_\_\_\_

Language Practices

Choose the most appropriate answer:

**1. Which language do you speak with...?****your parents**

- |                           |                          |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| always Valencian          | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generally Valencian       | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| the two languages equally | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generally Castilian       | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| always Castilian          | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**your grandparents**

- |                           |                          |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| always Valencian          | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generally Valencian       | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| the two languages equally | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generally Castilian       | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| always Castilian          | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**your siblings**

- |                           |                          |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| always Valencian          | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generally Valencian       | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| the two languages equally | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generally Castilian       | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| always Castilian          | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**your husband/wife/partner**

- |                           |                          |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| always Valencian          | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generally Valencian       | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| the two languages equally | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generally Castilian       | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| always Castilian          | <input type="checkbox"/> |



**your children**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- the two languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**your pets/animals**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- the two languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**your friends**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- the two languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**your neighbours**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- the two languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**acquaintances**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- the two languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**strangers (for example when you are in the street and you need help or you ask for directions)**

- |                           |                          |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| always Valencian          | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generally Valencian       | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| the two languages equally | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generally Castilian       | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| always Castilian          | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**2. Which language do you speak ...?**

**at home**

- |                           |                          |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| always Valencian          | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generally Valencian       | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| the two languages equally | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generally Castilian       | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| always Castilian          | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**in a café/ bar**

- |                           |                          |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| always Valencian          | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generally Valencian       | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| the two languages equally | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generally Castilian       | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| always Castilian          | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**in a restaurant**

- |                           |                          |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| always Valencian          | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generally Valencian       | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| the two languages equally | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| generally Castilian       | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| always Castilian          | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**at the supermarket**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- the two languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**at the market**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- the two languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**at the local shops**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- the two languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**in shopping centres**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- the two languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**in the bank**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- the two languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**at the post office**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- the two languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**at church**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- the two languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**at the doctor's**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- the two languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**in a library**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- the two languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**during recreational activities (doing sport, at a football match or a concert, going out)**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- the two languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**at school (in the classroom)**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- the two languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**at school (outside the classroom)**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- the two languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**in public offices (e.g. the town hall, the police station, etc)**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- the two languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**3. Which language do you use to...?****think**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- the two languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**talk about the day's events**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- the two languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**talk about politics**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- the two languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**talk about traditional Alicante things (for example, food or festivals)**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- the two languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**to count**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- the two languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**to express happiness**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- the two languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**to express sadness**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- the two languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**to be humorous**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- the two languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**to express anger**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- the two languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**4. In which language do you read...?****a novel**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- the two languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**a non-fiction book**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- the two languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**a magazine**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- the two languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**a newspaper**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- the two languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**advertisements or leaflets**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- the two languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**5. If you could choose freely between Castilian and Valencian, in which language would you prefer to read...?**

**a novel**

- in Castilian ☐
- in Valencian ☐
- I do not have a preference ☐

**a non-fiction book**

- in Castilian ☐
- in Valencian ☐
- I do not have a preference ☐

**a magazine**

- in Castilian ☐
- in Valencian ☐
- I do not have a preference ☐

**a newspaper**

- in Castilian ☐
- in Valencian ☐
- I do not have a preference ☐



**advertisements or leaflets**

- in Castilian ☐
- in Valencian ☐
- I do not have a preference ☐

**6. In which language do you write...?****a letter (personal)**

- always in Valencian ☐
- generally in Valencian ☐
- in both languages equally ☐
- generally in Castilian ☐
- always in Castilian ☐

**a letter (formal)**

- always in Valencian ☐
- generally in Valencian ☐
- in both languages equally ☐
- generally in Castilian ☐
- always in Castilian ☐

**a postcard**

- always in Valencian ☐
- generally in Valencian ☐
- in both languages equally ☐
- generally in Castilian ☐
- always in Castilian ☐

**notes**

- always in Valencian ☐
- generally in Valencian ☐
- in both languages equally ☐
- generally in Castilian ☐
- always in Castilian ☐

**a text message**

- always in Valencian ☐
- generally in Valencian ☐
- in both languages equally ☐
- generally in Castilian ☐
- always in Castilian ☐

**an email**

- always in Valencian ☐
- generally in Valencian ☐
- in both languages equally ☐
- generally in Castilian ☐
- always in Castilian ☐

**7. Regarding the internet, which language do you use...?****on the opening page of your web browser**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- both languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**on social network sites**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- both languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**in a search engine (for example Google)**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- both languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**on websites where you can select the language you wish to use**

- always Valencian ☐
- generally Valencian ☐
- both languages equally ☐
- generally Castilian ☐
- always Castilian ☐

**8. In which language do you watch television?**

- always in Valencian ☐
- generally in Valencian ☐
- in both languages equally ☐
- generally in Castilian ☐
- always in Castilian ☐

**9. If you could choose freely between Valencian and Castilian, in which language would you prefer to watch television?**

- in Castilian ☐
- in Valencian ☐
- I do not have a preference ☐

**10. In which language do you listen to the radio?**

- always in Valencian ☐
- generally in Valencian ☐
- in both languages equally ☐
- generally in Castilian ☐
- always in Castilian ☐

**11. If you could choose freely between Valencian and Castilian, in which language would you prefer to listen to the radio?**

- in Castilian ☐
- in Valencian ☐
- I do not have a preference ☐

Language Beliefs

*Evaluate the following statements and choose the most appropriate answer:*

**1. I like speaking Valencian.**

- |                  |                          |
|------------------|--------------------------|
| totally agree    | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| agree            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| indifferent      | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| disagree         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| totally disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**2. I feel connected to Valencian.**

- |                  |                          |
|------------------|--------------------------|
| totally agree    | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| agree            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| indifferent      | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| disagree         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| totally disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**3. I feel comfortable when I use Valencian.**

- |                  |                          |
|------------------|--------------------------|
| totally agree    | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| agree            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| indifferent      | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| disagree         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| totally disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**4. I would like to use Valencian more often.**

- |                  |                          |
|------------------|--------------------------|
| totally agree    | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| agree            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| indifferent      | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| disagree         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| totally disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**5. I try to promote and protect Valencian.**

- totally agree ☐
- agree ☐
- indifferent ☐
- disagree ☐
- totally disagree ☐

**6. Knowing Valencian is an advantage.**

- totally agree ☐
- agree ☐
- indifferent ☐
- disagree ☐
- totally disagree ☐

**7. Valencian is an important language in the province of Alicante.**

- totally agree ☐
- agree ☐
- indifferent ☐
- disagree ☐
- totally disagree ☐

**8. It is necessary to speak Valencian to be Valencian.**

- totally agree ☐
- agree ☐
- indifferent ☐
- disagree ☐
- totally disagree ☐

**9. Valencian is an important part of our identity.**

- totally agree ☐
- agree ☐
- indifferent ☐
- disagree ☐
- totally disagree ☐

**10. It is preferable to speak non-standard Valencian than to not speak it at all.**

- |                  |                          |
|------------------|--------------------------|
| totally agree    | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| agree            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| indifferent      | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| disagree         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| totally disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**11. Valencian can function as a modern language.**

- |                  |                          |
|------------------|--------------------------|
| totally agree    | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| agree            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| indifferent      | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| disagree         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| totally disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**12. Valencian is a prestigious language.**

- |                  |                          |
|------------------|--------------------------|
| totally agree    | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| agree            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| indifferent      | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| disagree         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| totally disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**13. Castilian and Valencian have the same level of prestige.**

- |                  |                          |
|------------------|--------------------------|
| totally agree    | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| agree            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| indifferent      | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| disagree         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| totally disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**14. Valencian is a beautiful language.**

totally agree	<input type="checkbox"/>
agree	<input type="checkbox"/>
indifferent	<input type="checkbox"/>
disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>
totally disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>

Language Management*Evaluate the following statements:*

- 1. It is important to protect and revitalise Valencian in the province of Alicante.**

totally agree	<input type="checkbox"/>
agree	<input type="checkbox"/>
indifferent	<input type="checkbox"/>
disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>
totally disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>

- 2. In the province of Alicante, Valencian is disappearing and it is not worth the while trying to revitalise it.**

totally agree	<input type="checkbox"/>
agree	<input type="checkbox"/>
indifferent	<input type="checkbox"/>
disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>
totally disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>

- 3. Up to now, the revitalisation of Valencian in the province of Alicante has been a success.**

totally agree	<input type="checkbox"/>
agree	<input type="checkbox"/>
indifferent	<input type="checkbox"/>
disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>
totally disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>

- 4. It is important to use Valencian at home with your family.**

totally agree	<input type="checkbox"/>
agree	<input type="checkbox"/>
indifferent	<input type="checkbox"/>
disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>
totally disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>



**5. It is important to use Valencian at cultural events.**

- totally agree ☐
- agree ☐
- indifferent ☐
- disagree ☐
- totally disagree ☐

**6. It is important to use Valencian at school.**

- totally agree ☐
- agree ☐
- indifferent ☐
- disagree ☐
- totally disagree ☐

**7. It is important to use Valencian at university.**

- totally agree ☐
- agree ☐
- indifferent ☐
- disagree ☐
- totally disagree ☐

**8. It is important to use Valencian in the media.**

- totally agree ☐
- agree ☐
- indifferent ☐
- disagree ☐
- totally disagree ☐

**9. It is important to use Valencian in the local government.**

- totally agree ☐
- agree ☐
- indifferent ☐
- disagree ☐
- totally disagree ☐

**10. It is important that young people in the province of Alicante learn Valencian.**

totally agree	<input type="checkbox"/>
agree	<input type="checkbox"/>
indifferent	<input type="checkbox"/>
disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>
totally disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>

**11. Who is responsible for the revitalisation of Valencian?**

**La Generalitat Valenciana (regional government)**

totally agree	<input type="checkbox"/>
agree	<input type="checkbox"/>
indifferent	<input type="checkbox"/>
disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>
totally disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>

**local people**

totally agree	<input type="checkbox"/>
agree	<input type="checkbox"/>
indifferent	<input type="checkbox"/>
disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>
totally disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>

**teachers**

totally agree	<input type="checkbox"/>
agree	<input type="checkbox"/>
indifferent	<input type="checkbox"/>
disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>
totally disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>

**linguistic organisations**

- totally agree ☐
- agree ☐
- indifferent ☐
- disagree ☐
- totally disagree ☐

**business owners**

- totally agree ☐
- agree ☐
- indifferent ☐
- disagree ☐
- totally disagree ☐

**12. The Generalitat Valenciana has taken the necessary measures to promote Valencian and to ensure knowledge of the language in the province of Alicante.**

- totally agree ☐
- agree ☐
- indifferent ☐
- disagree ☐
- totally disagree ☐

**13. Valencian and Castilian should continue as official languages in the province of Alicante.**

- totally agree ☐
- agree ☐
- indifferent ☐
- disagree ☐
- totally disagree ☐

**14. Currently, the normal and official use of Castilian and Valencian exists in the province of Alicante.**

- |                  |                          |
|------------------|--------------------------|
| totally agree    | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| agree            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| indifferent      | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| disagree         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| totally disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**15. The province of Alicante needs its own linguistic legislation, instead of having general legislation for the whole Valencian Community.**

- |                  |                          |
|------------------|--------------------------|
| totally agree    | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| agree            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| indifferent      | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| disagree         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| totally disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**16. There are currently enough opportunities to use Valencian.**

- |                  |                          |
|------------------|--------------------------|
| totally agree    | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| agree            | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| indifferent      | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| disagree         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| totally disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> |

## Appendix 4 – Overview of Respondents

This appendix provides an overview of fieldwork respondents and their social characteristics. Respondents C1-C34 are based in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and respondents D1-D19 are based in La Vila Joiosa. More detailed information including education level, family background and linguistic competence is given in appendix 5.

Respondent	Questionnaire Language	Gender	Age	Occupation
C1	Castilian	Female	31-40	Administrator
C2	Valencian	Male	31-40	Valencian teacher
C3	Valencian	Male	41-50	Accountant
C4	Castilian	Female	31-40	Administrator
C5	Valencian	Male	41-50	Self-employed
C6	Valencian	Male	31-40	Valencian Teacher/Translator
C7	Castilian	Female	51-60	Shopkeeper (bakery)
C8	Valencian	Male	18-30	Shop Assistant
C9	Valencian	Female	41-50	Valencian Teacher
C10	Valencian	Female	41-50	Valencian Teacher
C11	Valencian	Male	41-50	Valencian Teacher
C12	Valencian	Female	31-40	Maths Tutor
C13	Valencian	Male	41-50	Archaeologist
C14	Valencian	Male	41-50	Economics Lecturer
C15	Castilian	Male	18-30	6 <sup>th</sup> Form Student
C16	Castilian	Female	18-30	6 <sup>th</sup> Form Student
C17	Castilian	Female	18-30	6 <sup>th</sup> Form Student
C18	Castilian	Male	18-30	6 <sup>th</sup> Form Student
C19	Castilian	Female	51-60	School Secretary
C20	Valencian	Female	41-50	Valencian Tutor and Writer
C21	Castilian	Male	41-50	English Lecturer
C22	Castilian	Female	18-30	6 <sup>th</sup> Form Student
C23	Castilian	Female	31-40	Cleaner
C24	Castilian	Female	51-60	Cleaner
C25	Valencian	Female	18-30	University Student (Civil Engineering)
C26	Valencian	Male	18-30	6 <sup>th</sup> Form Student
C27	Castilian	Female	31-40	Cleaner
C28	Valencian	Female	51-60	Cleaner
C29	Valencian	Female	51-60	Design Teacher
C30	Valencian	Female	41-50	Religious Studies Teacher

C31	Valencian	Female	51-60	History/Geography/Economics Teacher
C32	Valencian	Female	51-60	Hospital Nurse
C33	Valencian	Female	18-30	University Student (Catalan Philology)
C34	Valencian	Female	51-60	School Dinner Lady

<b>Respondent</b>	<b>Questionnaire Language</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Occupation</b>
D1	Valencian	Male	18-30	Postgraduate Student & University Teacher (Catalan Philology)
D2	Valencian	Female	41-50	Fishmonger
D3	Castilian	Female	18-30	Student (studying at an adult education centre)
D4	Valencian	Male	18-30	Unemployed (and studying at an adult education centre)
D5	Castilian	Female	18-30	Unemployed (and looks after family and studies at an adult education centre)
D6	Castilian	Male	18-30	Unemployed (and studying at an adult education centre)
D7	Valencian	Male	41-50	Unemployed (previously worked as a sailor, waiter, builder )
D8	Castilian	Male	18-30	Works part-time in a hotel and studies at an adult education centre.
D9	Valencian	Female	51-60	Now looks after family, previously a vet
D10	Valencian	Female	18-30	Postgraduate Student & University Teacher (Mathematics)
D11	Valencian	Female	41-50	Childminder and looks after family
D12	Valencian	Female	51-60	Retired (was a Spanish teacher in the UK)
D13	Valencian	Female	18-30	Unemployed (and studying at an adult education centre)

D14	Castilian	Female	18-30	Unemployed (and studying at an adult education centre)
D15	Castilian	Female	18-30	Studies at an adult education centre
D16	Valencian	Female	51-60	Cleaner in a Care Home
D17	Castilian	Female	41-50	Studies at an adult education centre
D18	Castilian	Female	18-30	Studies at an adult education centre
D19	Castilian	Male	18-30	Studies at an adult education centre

## Appendix 5 – Respondents and their Social Characteristics

This appendix draws together the background information collected about each respondent during the administration of the fieldwork questionnaire. As noted in chapter four, the inclusion of this information enables the data collected from each respondent to be analysed in the fullest possible context. The inclusion of such details provides a context in which to interpret comments made by respondents, which in turn allows an extra level of data analysis (Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015: 292-293). For example, providing background information about respondents' families and their linguistic experiences helps to interpret why a certain language is or is not used in a certain context. When respondents provided extra information during the administration of the questionnaire, it is included in this appendix in order to fully encapsulate their relationship with their languages. For example, respondent C3 (male, forties, accountant) gave his occupation as an accountant, which is his full-time job. However, during the administration of the questionnaire he revealed that he is also a local counsellor and his questionnaire responses reflected his political ideologies. It is therefore important for the reader to have this information in order to interpret his responses fully. Additionally, relationships between respondents are also noted where appropriate. For example, social networks (Milroy, 1987) in terms of members of the same family or respondents who are colleagues are highlighted. Again, this is to ensure that data are encapsulated in the fullest possible context. As listed in this appendix, several respondents in La Vila Joiosa are studying at an adult education centre. The links between the respondents in this are not listed as they are not necessarily studying together. Some are simply studying Valencian, whereas others are studying a range of subjects as part of a formal programme of study to acquire an education that they previously did not receive or finish. Information about language use with close family members (parents, grandparents, siblings, spouse, and children) is also provided in order to offer an insight into respondents' habitual language practices and how these may have altered over the course of their lifetime.

As shown in Appendices 1,2,3, the questions were multiple-choice and respondents were given a range of answers and were asked to tick the box that best matched their experience. The use of such categories allows data to be analysed



according to different variables and in chapter five, responses have been analysed according to whether respondents answered the questionnaire in Valencian or Castilian. The use of multiple-choice options also avoids any potential embarrassment on the part of the respondent who may not wish to give a precise age. On occasion, respondents did not answer a particular question either because they felt unable to do so or it was not relevant to their circumstances. This is marked with a (-).

As is the case here, and throughout the thesis, respondents remain anonymous as approved by the University of Liverpool's ethical committee. The respondents for the main study are known as 'C' in Sant Vicent del Raspeig and 'D' in La Vila Joiosa.

Model Table:

Respondent #	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	
Gender	
Age	
Current Occupation	
Education Level	
Lives in	
Work/Studies in	
Number of years in the Valencian Community	
Valencian acquisition	
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	
Understands Valencian	
Speaks Valencian	
Reads Valencian	
Writes Valencian	
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	
Mother's occupation	
Mother's level of study	
Father's birth place	
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	
Father's occupation	
Father's level of study	
Language Practices	
With parents	
With grandparents	
With siblings	
With spouse	
With children	

Respondent C1	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Castilian
Gender	Female
Age	31-40
Current Occupation	Administrator
Education Level	Postgraduate degree
Lives in	Alicante (city)
Work/Studies in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Number of years in the Valencian Community	21-30
Valencian acquisition	School teachers and a language course at university.
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	No
Understands Valencian	Very well
Speaks Valencian	A bit
Reads Valencian	Very well
Writes Valencian	A bit
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Elx (Alicante)
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Now retired
Mother's level of study	A-Level equivalent (18 years)
Father's birth place	Palencia (Castile and Leon)
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	No
Father's occupation	Now retired
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Castilian
With grandparents	Always Castilian
With siblings	Always Castilian
With spouse	Always Castilian
With children	-

\*Respondent C1 works with respondent C4.

Respondent C2	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Valencian
Gender	Male
Age	31-40
Current Occupation	Valencian Teacher at a Language Academy. Also a local councillor in Sant Vicent del Raspeig.
Education Level	Postgraduate degree (Catalan philology)
Lives in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Work/Studies in	Alicante (city)
Number of years in the Valencian Community	31-40 (Always in Sant Vicent del Raspeig)
Valencian acquisition	Parents, schools, friends, colleagues
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	Yes
Understands Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Speaks Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Reads Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Writes Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Alicante (city)
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Employed
Mother's level of study	Postgraduate degree
Father's birth place	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Father's occupation	Dentist. Now retired.
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Valencian
With grandparents	Always Valencian
With siblings	Always Valencian
With spouse	Always Valencian
With children	-

Respondent C3	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Valencian
Gender	Male
Age	41-50
Current Occupation	Accountant. Also a local councillor in Ibi (Alicante).
Education Level	Vocational studies
Lives in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Work/Studies in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Number of years in the Valencian Community	41-50 (Always lived in the province of Alicante: Ibi, Alcoi and Sant Vicent del Raspeig)
Valencian acquisition	Parents, grandparents, friends
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	Yes
Understands Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Speaks Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Reads Valencian	Very well
Writes Valencian	A bit
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Alicante (city)
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Stayed at home to look after family. Now retired.
Mother's level of study	Primary school studies
Father's birth place	Ibi
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Father's occupation	Ran his own business. Now retired.
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Valencian
With grandparents	Always Valencian
With siblings	Always Valencian
With spouse	Always Valencian
With children	Always Valencian

\*Respondent C3 is married to respondent C20.

Respondent C4	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Castilian
Gender	Female
Age	31-40
Current Occupation	Administrator
Education Level	Postgraduate degree
Lives in	Alicante (city) but originally from El Campello (Alicante)
Work/Studies in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Number of years in the Valencian Community	31-40
Valencian acquisition	Parents, grandparents, teachers
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	Yes
Understands Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Speaks Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Reads Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Writes Valencian	Very well
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Alicante (city)
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Employed. Works in a fruit shop.
Mother's level of study	Primary school studies
Father's birth place	Alicante (city)
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	No
Father's occupation	Was a painter. Now retired.
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Valencian
With grandparents	Always Valencian
With siblings	Always Valencian
With spouse	Always Castilian
With children	-

\*Respondent C4 works with respondent C1.

Respondent C5	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Valencian
Gender	Male
Age	41-50
Current Occupation	Self-employed. (Involved in <i>Escola Valenciana</i> is his spare time)
Education Level	Vocational Studies
Lives in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig (originally from Alicante city but moved to Sant Vicent del Raspeig 14 years ago)
Work/Studies in	Travels around Alicante province for work
Number of years in the Valencian Community	41-50 years
Valencian acquisition	Acquired Valencian as a teenager. School teachers, friends, work colleagues, linguistic organisations
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	No
Understands Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Speaks Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Reads Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Writes Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Castilla-La Mancha
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	No
Mother's occupation	Was employed. Now retired.
Mother's level of study	Primary school studies
Father's birth place	Alicante (city)
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Father's occupation	Was employed.
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Castilian
With grandparents	Always Castilian
With siblings	Always Castilian
With spouse	Always Castilian
With children	Always Valencian

Respondent C6	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Valencian
Gender	Male
Age	31-40
Current Occupation	Valencian teacher and translator
Education Level	Postgraduate degree (Catalan philology)
Lives in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig (originally from Alicante city, moved to Sant Vicent del Raspeig 7 years ago)
Work/Studies in	University of Alicante, Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Number of years in the Valencian Community	31-40
Valencian acquisition	Acquired Valencian as a teenager. School teachers & work colleagues.
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	No
Understands Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Speaks Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Reads Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Writes Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Vianos, Albacete (Castilla-La Mancha)
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	No
Mother's occupation	Looked after family. Now retired.
Mother's level of study	Without studies
Father's birth place	Vianos, Albacete (Castilla-La Mancha)
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	No
Father's occupation	Worked for a drinks company.
Father's level of study	Without studies
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Castilian
With grandparents	Always Castilian
With siblings	Always Castilian
With spouse	Generally Castilian
With children	-



Respondent C7	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Castilian
Gender	Female
Age	51-60
Current Occupation	Shop keeper (Bakery)
Education Level	Primary school studies
Lives in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Work/Studies in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Number of years in the Valencian Community	41-50 (She was born in Sant Vicent del Raspeig but spent 10years living in other parts of Spain)
Valencian acquisition	Parents, grandparents, friends, teachers (later in life)
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	Yes
Understands Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Speaks Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Reads Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Writes Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Was a needlewoman. Now retired.
Mother's level of study	Primary school studies
Father's birth place	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Father's occupation	Was a builder.
Father's level of study	Primary school studies
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Valencian
With grandparents	Always Valencian
With siblings	Always Valencian
With spouse	Always Castilian
With children	Always Castilian

\*Respondent C7 is the mother of respondent C8.

Respondent C8	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Valencian
Gender	Male
Age	18-30
Current Occupation	Shop assistant in mother's bakery
Education Level	A-Level equivalent (18 years)
Lives in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Work/Studies in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Number of years in the Valencian Community	21-30
Valencian acquisition	Grandparents, friends, colleagues
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	Yes
Understands Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Speaks Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Reads Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Writes Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Shop keeper (bakery)
Mother's level of study	Primary school studies
Father's birth place	Soria (Castile and Leon)
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	No
Father's occupation	Civil servant
Father's level of study	Vocational studies
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Castilian
With grandparents	Always Valencian
With siblings	Always Castilian
With spouse	-
With children	-

\*Respondent C8 is the son of respondent C7.

Respondent C9	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Valencian
Gender	Female
Age	41-50
Current Occupation	Valencian teacher at a secondary school
Education Level	Postgraduate degree (Spanish philology with a specialisation in Valencian)
Lives in	Banyeres de Mariola (Alicante)
Work/Studies in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Number of years in the Valencian Community	41-50
Valencian acquisition	Parents, grandparents
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	Yes
Understands Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Speaks Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Reads Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Writes Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Banyeres de Mariola (Alicante)
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Ran a bakery. Now retired
Mother's level of study	Primary school studies
Father's birth place	Banyeres de Mariola (Alicante)
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Father's occupation	Ran a bakery.
Father's level of study	Primary school studies
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Valencian
With grandparents	-
With siblings	Always Valencian
With spouse	Always Valencian
With children	-

\*Respondent C9 works with respondent C10 in the Valencian department at the same school.

Respondent C10	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Valencian
Gender	Female
Age	41-50
Current Occupation	Secondary school Valencian teacher
Education Level	Postgraduate degree (Spanish philology with a specialisation in Valencian)
Lives in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig (originally from Tàrbena (Alicante) which she left aged 18).
Work/Studies in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Number of years in the Valencian Community	41-50
Valencian acquisition	Parents, grandparents
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	Yes
Understands Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Speaks Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Reads Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Writes Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Tàrbena
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Looked after family
Mother's level of study	Primary school studies
Father's birth place	Tàrbena
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Father's occupation	Was a driver
Father's level of study	Primary school studies
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Valencian
With grandparents	Always Valencian
With siblings	Always Valencian
With spouse	Always Valencian
With children	Always Valencian

\* Respondent C10 works with respondent C9 in the Valencian department at the same school.

Respondent C11	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Valencian
Gender	Male
Age	41-50
Current Occupation	Valencian teacher at a secondary school
Education Level	Postgraduate degree (Catalan philology)
Lives in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Work/Studies in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Number of years in the Valencian Community	41-40 years (Always in Sant Vicent del Raspeig)
Valencian acquisition	Parents, grandparents, friends
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	Yes
Understands Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Speaks Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Reads Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Writes Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Worked in family's shop and looked after family.
Mother's level of study	Primary school studies
Father's birth place	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Father's occupation	Ran a shop.
Father's level of study	Primary school studies
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Valencian
With grandparents	Always Valencian
With siblings	Always Valencian
With spouse	Always Castilian
With children	Always Valencian

\*Wanted to highlight that his parents' level of the education was typical for those growing up in the Civil War era.

<b>Respondent C12</b>	
<b>Sociolinguistic Variables</b>	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Valencian
Gender	Female
Age	31-40
Current Occupation	Maths tutor
Education Level	Postgraduate degree (Economics)
Lives in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Work/Studies in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Number of years in the Valencian Community	31-40 (Always in Sant Vicent del Raspeig)
Valencian acquisition	Parents, grandparents, teachers
<b>Self-evaluation of linguistic competency</b>	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	Yes
Understands Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Speaks Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Reads Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Writes Valencian	A bit
<b>Family Background</b>	
Mother's birth place	Vallada (Valencia)
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Looked after the family
Mother's level of study	A-Level equivalent (18 years)
Father's birth place	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Father's occupation	Businessman
Father's level of study	A-Level equivalent (18 years)
<b>Language Practices</b>	
With parents	Always Valencian
With grandparents	Always Valencian
With siblings	Always Valencian
With spouse	Always Castilian
With children	-

\*Respondents C12 and C13 are members of the same Valencian conversation group led by respondent C14 in Sant Vicent del Raspeig.

Respondent C13	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Valencian
Gender	Male
Age	41-50
Current Occupation	Archaeologist
Education Level	Postgraduate degree
Lives in	Alicante (city)
Work/Studies in	Alicante (around the province)
Number of years in the Valencian Community	41-50 (Always lived in Alicante city)
Valencian acquisition	Independent learning. Studying Valencian because he needs a formal qualification for his work.
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	No
Understands Valencian	Very well
Speaks Valencian	Quite well
Reads Valencian	Quite well
Writes Valencian	Quite well
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Alicante (city)
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Was a teacher.
Mother's level of study	Postgraduate degree
Father's birth place	Alcoi
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Father's occupation	Was a lawyer.
Father's level of study	Postgraduate degree
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Castilian
With grandparents	Always Castilian
With siblings	Always Castilian
With spouse	Always Castilian
With children	Always Castilian

\*Respondents C12 and C13 are members of the same Valencian conversation group led by respondent C14. Although respondent C13 lives in Alicante city he visits Sant Vicent del Raspeig each week to participate in the Valencian conversation group.

<b>Respondent C14</b>	
<b>Sociolinguistic Variables</b>	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Valencian
Gender	Male
Age	41-50
Current Occupation	Economics Lecturer
Education Level	Postgraduate degree
Lives in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig. (Originally from Alicante city and has lived in Sant Vicent del Raspeig for 7 years).
Work/Studies in	Murcia
Number of years in the Valencian Community	31-40 (spent 5 years in Barcelona)
Valencian acquisition	Parents, grandparents, friends, teachers, work colleagues, independent learning.
<b>Self-evaluation of linguistic competency</b>	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	Yes
Understands Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Speaks Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Reads Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Writes Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
<b>Family Background</b>	
Mother's birth place	Alicante (city)
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Was a teacher
Mother's level of study	Primary school studies
Father's birth place	Benifato (Alicante)
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Father's occupation	Was a businessman
Father's level of study	Secondary school studies (16 years)
<b>Language Practices</b>	
With parents	Generally Castilian
With grandparents	Generally Castilian
With siblings	Always Castilian
With spouse	Always Castilian
With children	Always Valencian

\*Respondent C14 leads the conversation group in Sant Vicent del Raspeig, attended by respondents C12 and C13.



Respondent C15	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Castilian
Gender	Male
Age	18-30
Current Occupation	6 <sup>th</sup> form student
Education Level	Secondary school studies (16 years)
Lives in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Work/Studies in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Number of years in the Valencian Community	21-30 years (always lived in Sant Vicent del Raspeig)
Valencian acquisition	Grandparents, teachers
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	No
Understands Valencian	Quite well
Speaks Valencian	Quite well
Reads Valencian	Quite well
Writes Valencian	A bit
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Cuenca (Castilla–La Mancha)
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	No
Mother's occupation	Works in a factory
Mother's level of study	Primary school studies
Father's birth place	Toledo (Castilla–La Mancha)
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	No
Father's occupation	Works in a workshop
Father's level of study	Primary school studies
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Castilian
With grandparents	Always Castilian
With siblings	Always Castilian
With spouse	-
With children	-

\*Respondents C15, C16, C17 and C18 are all members of the same Valencian class.

Respondent C16	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Castilian
Gender	Female
Age	18-30
Current Occupation	6 <sup>th</sup> form student
Education Level	Secondary school studies (16 years)
Lives in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Work/Studies in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Number of years in the Valencian Community	Less than 20 years (always lived in Sant Vicent del Raspeig)
Valencian acquisition	Teachers
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	No
Understands Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Speaks Valencian	A bit
Reads Valencian	Very well
Writes Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Granada (Andalusia)
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Works in a factory
Mother's level of study	Primary school studies
Father's birth place	Granada (Andalusia)
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	No
Father's occupation	Chef
Father's level of study	Primary school studies
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Castilian
With grandparents	Always Castilian
With siblings	Always Castilian
With spouse	-
With children	-

\*Respondents C15, C16, C17 and C18 are all members of the same Valencian class.

Respondent C17	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Castilian
Gender	Female
Age	18-30
Current Occupation	6 <sup>th</sup> form student
Education Level	Secondary school studies (16 years)
Lives in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Work/Studies in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Number of years in the Valencian Community	Less than 20 years (always lived in Sant Vicent del Raspeig)
Valencian acquisition	Teachers
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	No
Understands Valencian	Quite well
Speaks Valencian	A bit
Reads Valencian	Quite well
Writes Valencian	A bit
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Alicante (city)
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	No
Mother's occupation	Cleaner
Mother's level of study	-
Father's birth place	Alicante (city)
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	No
Father's occupation	Unemployed
Father's level of study	Primary school studies
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Castilian
With grandparents	Always Castilian
With siblings	Always Castilian
With spouse	-
With children	-

\*Respondents C15, C16, C17 and C18 are all members of the same Valencian class.

Respondent C18	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Castilian
Gender	Male
Age	18-30
Current Occupation	6 <sup>th</sup> form student and works in family's pharmacy
Education Level	Secondary school studies (16 years)
Lives in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig. Previously lived in El Campello (Alicante)
Work/Studies in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Number of years in the Valencian Community	Less than twenty years
Valencian acquisition	Parents, teachers
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	-
Understands Valencian	Very well
Speaks Valencian	Quite well
Reads Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Writes Valencian	Quite well
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	No
Mother's occupation	Employed
Mother's level of study	Vocational studies
Father's birth place	Calp (Alicante)
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Father's occupation	Business owner
Father's level of study	-
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Castilian
With grandparents	Always Castilian
With siblings	Always Castilian
With spouse	-
With children	-

\*Respondents C15, C16, C17 and C18 are all members of the same Valencian class.

Respondent C19	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Castilian
Gender	Female
Age	51-60
Current Occupation	School secretary
Education Level	Vocational studies
Lives in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Work/Studies in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Number of years in the Valencian Community	51-60 (always lived in Sant Vicent del Raspeig)
Valencian acquisition	Teachers (in adulthood), neighbours
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	No
Understands Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Speaks Valencian	Quite well
Reads Valencian	Quite well
Writes Valencian	Quite well
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Cuenca (Castilla–La Mancha)
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	No
Mother's occupation	Employed and looked after the family
Mother's level of study	No formal studies
Father's birth place	Albacete (Castilla–La Mancha)
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	No
Father's occupation	Retired. Was self-employed
Father's level of study	No formal studies
Language Practices	
With parents	Generally Castilian
With grandparents	Always Castilian
With siblings	Always Castilian
With spouse	Always Castilian
With children	Always Castilian

Respondent C20	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Valencian
Gender	Female
Age	41-50
Current Occupation	Valencian tutor and writer
Education Level	Postgraduate degree (Catalan philology)
Lives in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig (originally from Ibi)
Work/Studies in	Alicante (city)
Number of years in the Valencian Community	31-40
Valencian acquisition	Parents, grandparents, teachers
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	Yes
Understands Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Speaks Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Reads Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Writes Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Tibi (Alicante)
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Was a teacher. Now retired
Mother's level of study	Primary school studies
Father's birth place	Ibi (Alicante)
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Father's occupation	Retired
Father's level of study	Undergraduate degree
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Valencian
With grandparents	Always Valencian
With siblings	Always Valencian
With spouse	Always Valencian
With children	Always Valencian

\*Respondent C20 is married to respondent C3

\*Respondent C20 runs a Valencian conversation group which respondent C34 attends.

Respondent C21	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Castilian
Gender	Male
Age	41-50
Current Occupation	English Lecturer
Education Level	Postgraduate degree
Lives in	Alicante (city)
Work/Studies in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Number of years in the Valencian Community	41-40 (always lived there except for one year in Cambridge)
Valencian acquisition	Friends, teachers, work colleagues, media (especially the television)
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	Yes (Castilian was the first language that he learnt but he considers himself to have equal proficiency in Castilian and Valencian)
Understands Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Speaks Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Reads Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Writes Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Almoines (Valencia)
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Retired. Used to work in an office.
Mother's level of study	No formal studies
Father's birth place	Alicante (city)
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	No
Father's occupation	Was a teacher.
Father's level of study	Undergraduate degree
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Castilian
With grandparents	-
With siblings	Always Castilian
With spouse	Always Castilian
With children	Always Castilian

Respondent C22	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Castilian
Gender	Female
Age	18-30
Current Occupation	6 <sup>th</sup> form student
Education Level	Secondary school studies (16 years)
Lives in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Work/Studies in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Number of years in the Valencian Community	Less than 20 years (always lived in Sant Vicent del Raspeig)
Valencian acquisition	Parents, friends, teachers
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	Yes
Understands Valencian	Quite well
Speaks Valencian	A bit
Reads Valencian	Quite well
Writes Valencian	A bit
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Alicante (city)
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Works in a factory
Mother's level of study	-
Father's birth place	Alicante (city)
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Father's occupation	Workman (often works abroad)
Father's level of study	-
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Castilian
With grandparents	Generally Castilian
With siblings	Always Castilian
With spouse	-
With children	-

\*Respondent C22 is in the same Valencian class as respondent C26.



Respondent C23	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Castilian
Gender	Female
Age	31-40
Current Occupation	Cleaner
Education Level	Vocational studies
Lives in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Work/Studies in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Number of years in the Valencian Community	31-40 (always lived in Sant Vicent del Raspeig)
Valencian acquisition	Teachers
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	No
Understands Valencian	Quite well
Speaks Valencian	A bit
Reads Valencian	Very well
Writes Valencian	Quite well
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Cuenca (Castilla–La Mancha). Moved to Sant Vicent del Raspeig as a child.
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	No
Mother's occupation	Looked after family. Now retired.
Mother's level of study	No formal studies
Father's birth place	Almeria (Andalusia). Moved to Sant Vicent del Raspeig as a child.
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	No
Father's occupation	Was a builder
Father's level of study	No formal studies
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Castilian
With grandparents	Always Castilian
With siblings	Always Castilian
With spouse	Always Castilian
With children	Always Castilian

\*Respondents C23, C24, C27 and C28 are work colleagues.

Respondent C24	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Castilian
Gender	Female
Age	51-60
Current Occupation	Cleaner
Education Level	-
Lives in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig. Originally from Alicante (city). Moved to Sant Vicent del Raspeig 15 years ago.
Work/Studies in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Number of years in the Valencian Community	51-60
Valencian acquisition	-
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	No
Understands Valencian	No, nothing
Speaks Valencian	No, nothing
Reads Valencian	No, nothing
Writes Valencian	No, nothing
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Andalusia. Arrived in Alicante (city) in the 1960s.
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	No
Mother's occupation	Was a cleaner. Now retired.
Mother's level of study	No formal studies
Father's birth place	Albacete (Castilla-La Mancha). Arrived in Alicante (city) in the 1960s.
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	No
Father's occupation	Worked in construction
Father's level of study	No formal studies
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Castilian
With grandparents	Always Castilian
With siblings	Always Castilian
With spouse	Always Castilian
With children	Always Castilian

\*Respondents C23, C24, C27 and C28 are work colleagues.

Respondent C25	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Valencian
Gender	Female
Age	18-30
Current Occupation	University student
Education Level	Postgraduate degree (Civil engineering)
Lives in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig (term time) Beniarbeig (Alicante)
Work/Studies in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Number of years in the Valencian Community	21-30
Valencian acquisition	Parents, grandparents, friends, teachers, work colleagues
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	Yes
Understands Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Speaks Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Reads Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Writes Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Benidoleig (Alicante)
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Works in a care home
Mother's level of study	Vocational studies
Father's birth place	Beniarbeig
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Father's occupation	Music teacher
Father's level of study	Postgraduate degree
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Valencian
With grandparents	Always Valencian
With siblings	Always Valencian
With spouse	Both languages
With children	-

Respondent C26	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Valencian
Gender	Male
Age	18-30
Current Occupation	6 <sup>th</sup> form student
Education Level	Secondary school studies (16 years)
Lives in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Work/Studies in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Number of years in the Valencian Community	Less than twenty years. (Always lived in Sant Vicent del Raspeig.)
Valencian acquisition	Teachers
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	No
Understands Valencian	Very well
Speaks Valencian	Quite well
Reads Valencian	Very well
Writes Valencian	Quite well
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	No
Mother's occupation	Looks after family
Mother's level of study	Secondary school studies (16 years)
Father's birth place	Cuenca (Castilla–La Mancha)
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	No
Father's occupation	Businessman
Father's level of study	Vocational studies
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Castilian
With grandparents	Always Castilian
With siblings	Always Castilian
With spouse	-
With children	-

\*Respondent C26 is in the same Valencian class as respondent C22.

Respondent C27	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Castilian
Gender	Female
Age	31-40
Current Occupation	Cleaner
Education Level	Vocational studies
Lives in	Alicante (city)
Work/Studies in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Number of years in the Valencian Community	31-40 (Born in Alicante city, lived in Sant Vicent del Raspeig for 10 years and now lives in Alicante city again.)
Valencian acquisition	Parents, grandparents
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	No
Understands Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Speaks Valencian	Quite well
Reads Valencian	Quite well
Writes Valencian	A bit
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Ontinyent (Valencia)
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Worked in husband's workshop
Mother's level of study	No formal studies
Father's birth place	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	No
Father's occupation	Mechanic and repairer of electrical appliances
Father's level of study	Primary school studies
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Castilian
With grandparents	Always Castilian
With siblings	Always Castilian
With spouse	Always Castilian
With children	Always Castilian

\*Respondents C23, C24, C27 and C28 are work colleagues.

Respondent C28	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Valencian (but read the questions and various consent forms in Castilian)
Gender	Female
Age	51-60
Current Occupation	Cleaner
Education Level	Secondary school studies (16 years)
Lives in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Work/Studies in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Number of years in the Valencian Community	51-60 (Always lived in Sant Vicent del Raspeig.)
Valencian acquisition	Parents, grandparents, work colleagues
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	Yes
Understands Valencian	Very well
Speaks Valencian	Very well
Reads Valencian	A bit
Writes Valencian	No, nothing
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Alicante (city)
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Looks after family
Mother's level of study	No formal studies
Father's birth place	Alicante (city)
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Father's occupation	Worked in the cement factory. Now retired.
Father's level of study	No formal studies
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Valencian
With grandparents	Always Valencian
With siblings	Always Valencian
With spouse	Generally Castilian
With children	Generally Valencian

\*Respondents C23, C24, C27 and C28 are work colleagues.

Respondent C29	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Valencian
Gender	Female
Age	51-60
Current Occupation	Secondary school teacher of design
Education Level	Undergraduate degree (fine arts)
Lives in	Alicante (city). Originally from Callosa d'en Sarrià (Alicante).
Work/Studies in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Number of years in the Valencian Community	51-60 (Has lived in various towns in the Valencian Community)
Valencian acquisition	Parents, grandparents, friends, teachers
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	Yes
Understands Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Speaks Valencian	Very well
Reads Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Writes Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Callosa d'en Sarrià (Alicante)
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Looks after family
Mother's level of study	Primary school studies
Father's birth place	Callosa d'en Sarrià (Alicante)
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Father's occupation	Worked as a civil servant
Father's level of study	No formal studies
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Valencian
With grandparents	Always Valencian
With siblings	Always Valencian
With spouse	Always Valencian
With children	Always Valencian

\*Wanted to highlight that whilst her parents had little formal education they valued learning and education.

\*RespondentC29 and C30 are colleagues.

Respondent C30	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Valencian
Gender	Female
Age	41-50
Current Occupation	Secondary school teacher of religious studies
Education Level	Postgraduate degree
Lives in	Alicante (city)
Work/Studies in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Number of years in the Valencian Community	41-50 (Always lived in Alicante province but in various towns)
Valencian acquisition	Parents, teachers
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	Yes
Understands Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Speaks Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Reads Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Writes Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Alcoi (Alicante)
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Looked after the family
Mother's level of study	Primary school studies
Father's birth place	Alcoi (Alicante)
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Father's occupation	Worked as an electrician
Father's level of study	Primary school studies
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Valencian
With grandparents	Always Valencian
With siblings	-
With spouse	Always Valencian
With children	Always Valencian

\*Respondent C30 is a colleague of C29.



<b>Respondent C31</b>	
<b>Sociolinguistic Variables</b>	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Valencian
Gender	Female
Age	51-60
Current Occupation	Secondary school teacher of history, geography and economics.
Education Level	Postgraduate degree
Lives in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Work/Studies in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Number of years in the Valencian Community	51-60 Born in Oviedo (Asturias) and grew up in Sant Joan (Alicante)
Valencian acquisition	Parents, grandparents, friends, teachers (in adulthood), work colleagues
<b>Self-evaluation of linguistic competency</b>	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	No
Understands Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Speaks Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Reads Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Writes Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
<b>Family Background</b>	
Mother's birth place	Castelló de la Plana (Castelló)
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Looked after family
Mother's level of study	Secondary school studies (16 years)
Father's birth place	Oviedo (Asturias)
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	No
Father's occupation	Was a pharmacist
Father's level of study	Postgraduate degree
<b>Language Practices</b>	
With parents	Always Castilian
With grandparents	-
With siblings	Always Castilian
With spouse	Always Valencian
With children	Always Valencian

\*Once a week, respondent C31 presented a Valencian language radio programme with respondent C32.

Respondent C32	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Valencian
Gender	Female
Age	41-50
Current Occupation	Hospital nurse
Education Level	Vocational studies
Lives in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig (for 24 years)
Work/Studies in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Number of years in the Valencian Community	41-50
Valencian acquisition	Parents, grandparents, teachers (in adulthood)
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	Ye
Understands Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Speaks Valencian	Very well
Reads Valencian	Very well
Writes Valencian	Quite well
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Montesa (Valencia)
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Farm worker
Mother's level of study	Primary school studies
Father's birth place	Carcaixent (Valencia)
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Father's occupation	Farm worker
Father's level of study	Primary school studies
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Valencian
With grandparents	Always Valencian
With siblings	Always Valencian
With spouse	Always Valencian
With children	Always Valencian

\*Once a week, respondent C32 presented a Valencian language radio programme with respondent C31.

Respondent C33	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Valencian
Gender	Female
Age	18-30
Current Occupation	University student
Education Level	Postgraduate degree (Catalan philology)
Lives in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Work/Studies in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Number of years in the Valencian Community	Less than 20 (moved to Sant Vicent del Raspeig aged 2 years).
Valencian acquisition	Parents, grandparents, teachers, through reading
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	Yes. Later described herself as a native speaker of Valencian and Spanish.
Understands Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Speaks Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Reads Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Writes Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Onil (Alicante)
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Teacher
Mother's level of study	Postgraduate degree
Father's birth place	Alicante (city)
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	No
Father's occupation	Teacher
Father's level of study	Postgraduate degree
Language Practices	
With parents	Valencian with her mother Castilian with her father
With grandparents	Valencian on mother's side Castilian on father's side
With siblings	Always Valencian
With spouse	-
With children	-

Respondent C34	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Valencian
Gender	Female
Age	51-60
Current Occupation	School dinner lady
Education Level	A-Level equivalent (18 years)
Lives in	Alicante (city)
Work/Studies in	Alicante (city)
Number of years in the Valencian Community	21-30 (Previously lived in Castile and Leon)
Valencian acquisition	Teachers (started learning Valencian three years ago)
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	No
Understands Valencian	Quite well
Speaks Valencian	Quite well
Reads Valencian	Quite well
Writes Valencian	Quite well
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	León (Castile and Leon)
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	No
Mother's occupation	Looked after family
Mother's level of study	No formal studies
Father's birth place	Zamora (Castile and Leon)
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	No
Father's occupation	Was a train driver
Father's level of study	Secondary school studies (16 years)
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Castilian
With grandparents	Always Castilian
With siblings	Always Castilian
With spouse	Always Castilian
With children	Generally Castilian

\*Respondent C34 attends a Valencian conversation group led by respondent C20.

Respondent D1	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Valencian
Gender	Male
Age	18-30
Current Occupation	Postgraduate student and university teacher
Education Level	Postgraduate degree (Catalan philology)
Lives in	La Vila Joiosa
Work/Studies in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Number of years in the Valencian Community	21-30
Valencian acquisition	Parents, grandparents, friends, teachers, colleagues
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	Yes
Understands Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Speaks Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Reads Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Writes Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	La Vila Joiosa
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Primary school teacher
Mother's level of study	Postgraduate degree
Father's birth place	Sella (Alicante)
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Father's occupation	Valencian teacher (for adults)
Father's level of study	Postgraduate degree
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Valencian
With grandparents	Always Valencian
With siblings	Always Valencian
With spouse	-
With children	-

Respondent D2	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Valencian
Gender	Female
Age	41-50
Current Occupation	Fishmonger in the market
Education Level	-
Lives in	La Vila Joiosa
Work/Studies in	La Vila Joiosa
Number of years in the Valencian Community	41-50 (always lived in either La Vila Joiosa or Benidorm)
Valencian acquisition	Teachers (in adulthood), the local environment
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	No
Understands Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Speaks Valencian	Quite well
Reads Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Writes Valencian	A bit
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Seville (Andalusia). Came to La Vila Joiosa aged 2 years.
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Hairdresser and looks after family
Mother's level of study	Secondary school studies (16 years)
Father's birth place	Benidorm (Alicante)
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Father's occupation	Works in family business. Now semi-retired.
Father's level of study	No formal studies
Language Practices	
With parents	Both languages
With grandparents	Always Valencian
With siblings	Both languages
With spouse	-
With children	-

Respondent D3	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Castilian
Gender	Female
Age	18-30
Current Occupation	Student (studying at an adult education centre)
Education Level	Primary school studies
Lives in	La Vila Joiosa
Work/Studies in	La Vila Joiosa
Number of years in the Valencian Community	Less than 20 years (Always lived in La Vila Joiosa.)
Valencian acquisition	Grandparents, teachers
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	No
Understands Valencian	Very well
Speaks Valencian	Very well
Reads Valencian	A bit
Writes Valencian	A bit
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Alicante (city)
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Currently unemployed previously worked in hotels.
Mother's level of study	Primary school studies
Father's birth place	Alicante (city)
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	No
Father's occupation	Builder
Father's level of study	Primary school studies
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Castilian
With grandparents	Always Castilian
With siblings	Always Castilian
With spouse	-
With children	-

Respondent D4	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Valencian
Gender	Male
Age	18-30
Current Occupation	Unemployed (and studying at an adult education centre)
Education Level	Primary school studies
Lives in	La Vila Joiosa
Work/Studies in	La Vila Joiosa
Number of years in the Valencian Community	21-30
Valencian acquisition	Grandparents, teachers
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	Yes
Understands Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Speaks Valencian	Very well
Reads Valencian	Quite well
Writes Valencian	Quite well
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	La Vila Joiosa
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Building manager
Mother's level of study	Primary school studies
Father's birth place	Seville (Andalusia)
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Father's occupation	Was a chef. Now retired.
Father's level of study	Primary school studies
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Castilian
With grandparents	Always Valencian
With siblings	Always Castilian
With spouse	Always Valencian
With children	-



Respondent D5	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Castilian
Gender	Female
Age	18-30
Current Occupation	Unemployed, looks after family, studying at an adult education centre
Education Level	Primary school studies
Lives in	La Vila Joiosa
Work/Studies in	La Vila Joiosa
Number of years in the Valencian Community	21-30
Valencian acquisition	Grandparents, teachers
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	No
Understands Valencian	A bit
Speaks Valencian	A bit
Reads Valencian	A bit
Writes Valencian	A bit
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Orxeta (Alicante)
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	No
Mother's occupation	Works in a factory
Mother's level of study	Primary school studies
Father's birth place	Basque Country (he is a Basque speaker)
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	No
Father's occupation	Bus driver
Father's level of study	Vocational studies
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Castilian
With grandparents	Always Castilian
With siblings	-
With spouse	Always Castilian
With children	Always Castilian

Respondent D6	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Castilian
Gender	Male
Age	18-30
Current Occupation	Unemployed and studying at an adult education centre
Education Level	Vocational studies (electrician)
Lives in	Relleu (Alicante)
Work/Studies in	La Vila Joiosa
Number of years in the Valencian Community	Less than 20 years (lived in La Vila Joiosa for years, before this he lived in Italy).
Valencian acquisition	Teachers, television
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	No
Understands Valencian	Very well
Speaks Valencian	A bit
Reads Valencian	Quite well
Writes Valencian	A bit
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Argentina
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	No
Mother's occupation	Estate agent
Mother's level of study	Undergraduate degree
Father's birth place	Argentina
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	No
Father's occupation	Was an electrician
Father's level of study	Vocational studies
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Castilian
With grandparents	Always Castilian
With siblings	Always Castilian
With spouse	Always Castilian
With children	-

<b>Respondent D7</b>	
<b>Sociolinguistic Variables</b>	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Valencian
Gender	Male
Age	41-50
Current Occupation	Unemployed (previously worked as a sailor, waiter, builder )
Education Level	Secondary school studies (16 years)
Lives in	La Vila Joiosa
Work/Studies in	La Vila Joiosa
Number of years in the Valencian Community	Less than 20 years (he moved away for work and has only recently returned to La Vila Joiosa).
Valencian acquisition	Parents, grandparents, friends, teachers, colleagues
<b>Self-evaluation of linguistic competency</b>	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	Yes
Understands Valencian	Quite well
Speaks Valencian	Quite well/very well
Reads Valencian	Quite well
Writes Valencian	A bit
<b>Family Background</b>	
Mother's birth place	La Vila Joiosa
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Retired
Mother's level of study	Primary school studies
Father's birth place	France
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Father's occupation	Was a sailor
Father's level of study	Primary school studies
<b>Language Practices</b>	
With parents	Always Valencian
With grandparents	Always Valencian
With siblings	Always Valencian
With spouse	Always Valencian
With children	Always Valencian

\*Respondent D7 explained that his parents' educational background was the norm for the period in which they grew up.

Respondent D8	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Castilian
Gender	Male
Age	18-30
Current Occupation	Works part-time in a hotel and studies at an adult education centre.
Education Level	Secondary School studies (16 years)
Lives in	La Vila Joiosa
Work/Studies in	Works in Benidorm (Alicante) and studies in La Vila Joiosa.
Number of years in the Valencian Community	21-30
Valencian acquisition	Teachers
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	No
Understands Valencian	Quite well
Speaks Valencian	A bit
Reads Valencian	Very well
Writes Valencian	No, nothing
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	San Benito (Castilla-La Mancha)
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	No
Mother's occupation	Looks after family
Mother's level of study	No formal studies
Father's birth place	Jaén (Andalusia)
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	No
Father's occupation	Unemployed
Father's level of study	No formal studies
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Castilian
With grandparents	Always Castilian
With siblings	Always Castilian
With spouse	Always Castilian
With children	-

Respondent D9	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Valencian
Gender	Female
Age	51-60
Current Occupation	Now looks after family, previously a vet
Education Level	Postgraduate degree
Lives in	La Vila Joiosa (Originally from Jaén, Andalusia)
Work/Studies in	-
Number of years in the Valencian Community	21-30 (always in La Vila Joiosa).
Valencian acquisition	Teachers (in adulthood), daughters (when they were at school)
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	No
Understands Valencian	Quite well
Speaks Valencian	A bit
Reads Valencian	Quite well
Writes Valencian	A bit
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Jaén (Andalusia)
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	No
Mother's occupation	Looked after family
Mother's level of study	No formal studies
Father's birth place	Jaén (Andalusia)
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	No
Father's occupation	Director of a business
Father's level of study	No formal studies/self-taught
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Castilian
With grandparents	Always Castilian
With siblings	Always Castilian
With spouse	Always Castilian
With children	Generally Castilian

\*Respondent D9 explained that that growing up in the Civil War meant that her parents were unable to access formal education.

<b>Respondent D10</b>	
<b>Sociolinguistic Variables</b>	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Valencian
Gender	Female
Age	18-30
Current Occupation	Postgraduate student and university teacher (Mathematics)
Education Level	Postgraduate degree
Lives in	La Vila Joiosa
Work/Studies in	Sant Vicent del Raspeig
Number of years in the Valencian Community	21-30 (Always in La Vila Joiosa)
Valencian acquisition	Parents, grandparents, friends, teachers, colleagues
<b>Self-evaluation of linguistic competency</b>	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	Yes
Understands Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Speaks Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Reads Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Writes Valencian	Very well
<b>Family Background</b>	
Mother's birth place	La Vila Joiosa
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Childminder
Mother's level of study	A-Level equivalent (18 years)
Father's birth place	La Vila Joiosa
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Father's occupation	Works in a crematorium
Father's level of study	Primary school studies
<b>Language Practices</b>	
With parents	Always Valencian
With grandparents	Always Valencian
With siblings	Always Valencian
With spouse	-
With children	-

\*Respondent D10 is the daughter of respondent D11

<b>Respondent D11</b>	
<b>Sociolinguistic Variables</b>	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Valencian
Gender	Female
Age	41-50
Current Occupation	Childminder and looks after family
Education Level	A-Level equivalent (18 years)
Lives in	La Vila Joiosa
Work/Studies in	Home (La Vila Joiosa)
Number of years in the Valencian Community	41-50 (Always in La Vila Joiosa)
Valencian acquisition	Parents, grandparents, friends, teachers (in adulthood)
<b>Self-evaluation of linguistic competency</b>	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	Yes
Understands Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Speaks Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Reads Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Writes Valencian	Quite well
<b>Family Background</b>	
Mother's birth place	La Vila Joiosa
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Looked after family
Mother's level of study	No formal studies
Father's birth place	La Vila Joiosa
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Father's occupation	Was employed
Father's level of study	Primary school studies
<b>Language Practices</b>	
With parents	Always Valencian
With grandparents	Always Valencian
With siblings	Always Valencian
With spouse	Always Valencian
With children	Always Valencian

\*Respondent D11 is the mother of respondent D10

\*Respondent D11 is the sister of D12. The question about parents' education is simply based on their own knowledge and perceptions and their answers do not correspond in this respect.

<b>Respondent D12</b>	
<b>Sociolinguistic Variables</b>	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Valencian
Gender	Female
Age	51-60
Current Occupation	Retired, was a Spanish teacher in the UK
Education Level	Postgraduate degree
Lives in	La Vila Joiosa
Work/Studies in	-
Number of years in the Valencian Community	21-30 (lived in La Vila Joiosa until she was 20, before moving to the UK. Returned to La Vila Joiosa 2 years ago)
Valencian acquisition	Parents, grandparents, school friends
<b>Self-evaluation of linguistic competency</b>	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	Yes
Understands Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Speaks Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Reads Valencian	Quite well
Writes Valencian	A bit
<b>Family Background</b>	
Mother's birth place	La Vila Joiosa
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Looked after the family
Mother's level of study	Primary school studies
Father's birth place	La Vila Joiosa
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Father's occupation	Employed
Father's level of study	Secondary school studies (16 years)
<b>Language Practices</b>	
With parents	Always Valencian
With grandparents	Always Valencian
With siblings	Always Valencian
With spouse	English (he is Dutch)
With children	Castilian and English

\*Respondent D12 is the sister of D11. The question about parents' education is simply based on their own knowledge and perceptions and their answers do not correspond in this respect.



Respondent D13	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Valencian
Gender	Female
Age	18-30
Current Occupation	Unemployed and studies at an adult education centre.
Education Level	Primary school studies
Lives in	La Vila Joiosa
Work/Studies in	La Vila Joiosa
Number of years in the Valencian Community	21-30 (Always in La Vila Joiosa)
Valencian acquisition	Parents, teachers
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	Yes
Understands Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Speaks Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Reads Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Writes Valencian	Quite well
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	La Vila Joiosa
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Unemployed and looks after family
Mother's level of study	Primary school studies
Father's birth place	Extremadura
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	No
Father's occupation	Unemployed
Father's level of study	Primary school studies
Language Practices	
With parents	Generally Castilian
With grandparents	-
With siblings	Generally Castilian
With spouse	Both languages
With children	Generally Castilian

Respondent D14	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Castilian
Gender	Female
Age	18-30
Current Occupation	Unemployed and studies at an adult education centre
Education Level	Secondary school studies (16 years)
Lives in	La Vila Joiosa
Work/Studies in	La Vila Joiosa
Number of years in the Valencian Community	21-30 (Always in La Vila Joiosa)
Valencian acquisition	Friends, teachers
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	No
Understands Valencian	A bit
Speaks Valencian	A bit
Reads Valencian	A bit
Writes Valencian	A bit
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	La Vila Joiosa
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	No
Mother's occupation	Street sweeper
Mother's level of study	Secondary school studies (16 years)
Father's birth place	Jaén (Andalusia)
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	No
Father's occupation	Street sweeper
Father's level of study	No formal studies
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Castilian
With grandparents	Always Castilian
With siblings	Generally Castilian
With spouse	-
With children	-

Respondent D15	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Castilian
Gender	Female
Age	18-30
Current Occupation	Studies at an adult education centre
Education Level	Secondary school studies (16 years)
Lives in	La Vila Joiosa
Work/Studies in	La Vila Joiosa
Number of years in the Valencian Community	Less than 20 years (Always in La Vila Joiosa)
Valencian acquisition	Parents, grandparents, teachers
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	Yes
Understands Valencian	Quite well
Speaks Valencian	Very well
Reads Valencian	Very well
Writes Valencian	Quite well
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	La Vila Joiosa
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Cleaner
Mother's level of study	Secondary school studies (16 years)
Father's birth place	La Vila Joiosa
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Father's occupation	Painter
Father's level of study	Secondary school studies (16 years)
Language Practices	
With parents	Both languages
With grandparents	Always Valencian
With siblings	Generally Castilian
With spouse	-
With children	-

Respondent D16	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Valencian
Gender	Female
Age	51-60
Current Occupation	Cleaner in a care home
Education Level	Secondary school studies (16 years)
Lives in	La Vila Joiosa
Work/Studies in	La Vila Joiosa
Number of years in the Valencian Community	51-60 (previously lived in Sella (Alicante))
Valencian acquisition	Parents, grandparents, friends, teachers (in adulthood)
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	Yes
Understands Valencian	Very well
Speaks Valencian	Very well
Reads Valencian	Quite well
Writes Valencian	Quite well
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	La Vila Joiosa
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Owned a shop and looked after family
Mother's level of study	Primary school studies
Father's birth place	La Vila Joiosa
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Father's occupation	Worked as a lorry driver
Father's level of study	Primary school studies
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Valencian
With grandparents	Always Valencian
With siblings	Always Valencian
With spouse	Always Valencian
With children	Always Valencian

Respondent D17	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Castilian
Gender	Female
Age	41-50
Current Occupation	Studies at an adult education centre
Education Level	Vocational studies
Lives in	La Vila Joiosa
Work/Studies in	La Vila Joiosa
Number of years in the Valencian Community	41-50
Valencian acquisition	Teachers, the local environment
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	Yes
Understands Valencian	Very well
Speaks Valencian	Quite well
Reads Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Writes Valencian	Quite well
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Altea (Alicante)
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Retired. Was a farm worker.
Mother's level of study	Secondary school studies (16 years)
Father's birth place	Alicante (city)
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Father's occupation	Was a student. (Died when respondent D17 was very young)
Father's level of study	Postgraduate studies
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Castilian
With grandparents	Always Castilian
With siblings	Always Castilian
With spouse	Always Castilian
With children	Always Castilian

Respondent D18	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Castilian
Gender	Female
Age	18-30
Current Occupation	Studies at an adult education centre
Education Level	Secondary school studies (16 years)
Lives in	La Vila Joiosa
Work/Studies in	La Vila Joiosa
Number of years in the Valencian Community	Less than 20 years (Always in La Vila Joiosa)
Valencian acquisition	Friends, teachers
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	Yes
Understands Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Speaks Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Reads Valencian	Perfectly/without problems
Writes Valencian	Very well
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	Jaén (Andalusia)
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes (Learnt the language through living in La Vila Joiosa.)
Mother's occupation	Works in chocolate factory
Mother's level of study	Secondary school studies (16 years)
Father's birth place	Jaén (Andalusia)
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	Yes (Learnt the language through living in La Vila Joiosa.)
Father's occupation	Unemployed
Father's level of study	Secondary school studies (16 years)
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Castilian
With grandparents	Always Castilian
With siblings	Always Castilian
With spouse	-
With children	-

Respondent D19	
Sociolinguistic Variables	
Language chosen to complete the questionnaire	Castilian
Gender	Male
Age	18-30
Current Occupation	Studies at an adult education centre
Education Level	Secondary school studies (16 years)
Lives in	La Vila Joiosa
Work/Studies in	La Vila Joiosa
Number of years in the Valencian Community	21-30 (Always in La Vila Joiosa)
Valencian acquisition	Parents, grandparents, teachers
Self-evaluation of linguistic competency	
Does the respondent class themselves as a native speaker of Valencian?	no
Understands Valencian	Very well
Speaks Valencian	Very well
Reads Valencian	Quite well
Writes Valencian	A bit
Family Background	
Mother's birth place	La Vila Joiosa
Was their mother a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Mother's occupation	Works in chocolate factory
Mother's level of study	-
Father's birth place	La Vila Joiosa
Was their father a Valencian Speaker?	Yes
Father's occupation	Builder
Father's level of study	-
Language Practices	
With parents	Always Castilian
With grandparents	Always Castilian
With siblings	Always Castilian
With spouse	Always Castilian
With children	-